

# Hekmetyar Arrives in Kabul and is Named New Prime Minister

On June 26, Gulbuddin Hekmetyar was sworn in as Afghanistan's new prime minister in a ceremony which was marred by the deadliest Taliban assault on Kabul since the Pakistani-backed militia began its siege of the capital city last October.

An estimated 300 rockets and shells smashed into mostly residential areas of the city on the day of the ceremony killing at least 62 civilians and wounding more than 140 others. Besides various residential areas, the Taliban gunners targeted the airport, the presidential palace, the defense ministry, the information ministry, and the diplomatic area of Wazir Akbar Khan where several shells landed near the Intercontinental Hotel and the Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital.

Despite the assault, Hekmetyar said he was willing to begin negotiations with the Taliban as well as all other factions in an effort to bring peace to the country. Hekmetyar said that his interim administration would hold power for six months to one year before the holding of elections.

Hekmetyar listed the priorities of his administration as ending the civil war, forming a stable central government, and organizing a national Islamic army.

## Hekmetyar- Rabbani Alliance

His accession as premier came one month after the forging of an alliance between his Hezb al-Islami and the Jamaat-i-Islami of Burhanuddin Rabbani, who will remain the President of Afghanistan in a power-sharing agreement with Hekmetyar. The two Islamist leaders had been opposed to each other for the past two and a half years. The new alliance unites the largest Is-

lamist groups in the country against the Taliban. A northern-based Uzbek militia headed by the former communist General Abd al-Rashid Dostum also opposes the Rabbani-Hekmetyar government but has not sided with the Taliban in its assault on Kabul.

According to the agreement forged between Hekmetyar and Rabbani, the Hezb al-Islami will get the key ministries of defense and finance as well as the premiership. Hekmetyar called upon leaders of other Afghan factions to join his cabinet.

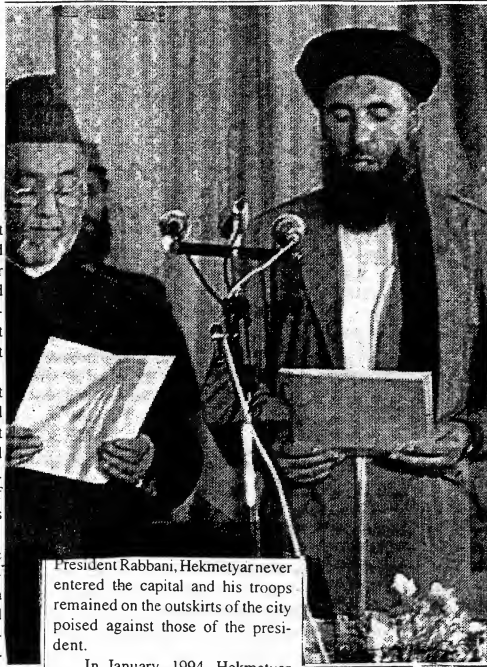
"The wounds are there, but we are trying slowly to build confidence," said Qaribur Saeed, a Hekmetyar spokesman who added that Hekmetyar's promise of holding elections was an attempt to convince the Taliban to end its violent struggle. "If they are really popular, then let them contest elections."

He warned that Rabbani and Hekmetyar's combined forces have the weapons and strength to defend the capital.

"We won't initiate a fight, but we will defend ourselves like we have done in the past," Saeed said. "We have the strength and the weapons, but continued fighting won't solve the problem."

Thousands of Hezb al-Islami soldiers have already entered Kabul and stand side-by-side with Rabbani's forces guarding government buildings in the capital. The new Hezb al-Islami headquarters is in the middle of the city.

Hekmetyar's entrance into Kabul, along with a 100-vehicle convoy of his supporters, marks an important difference between his current role as prime minister and an earlier period in which he served in the same post. From March 1993 to January 1994, Hekmetyar also served as the country's premier. However due to his conflict with



President Rabbani, Hekmetyar never entered the capital and his troops remained on the outskirts of the city poised against those of the president.

In January, 1994, Hekmetyar formally broke away from Rabbani when he joined Dostum in an abortive assault on Kabul. Hekmetyar and Dostum, along with the Shiite Hezb al-Wahdat and the forces of the Sufi traditionalist leader Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, then formed a Supreme Coordination Council, which led the opposition to Rabbani's government.

## Peace Initiative

Hekmetyar now hopes that the close ties he forged with Dostum and the Hezb al-Wahdat will enable him to convince them to join his government. Immediately after taking power, Hekmetyar said he wanted to meet with Dostum and with Shiite Muslim leader Abdul Karim Khalili.

Rabbani has also tried to use his accommodation with Hekmetyar to revitalize his initiative for understandings with other neutral factions.

On June 28, Rabbani visited the eastern city of Jalalabad where he was greeted by Younis Khalis, leader of a breakaway faction of the Hezb

al-Islami; Syed Ahmad Gailani, a nationalist leader who fought with the Mujahideen against the Russian occupation of the country in the 1980's; and Haji Qadir, the leader of a neutral council which governs Nangarhar province. The neutrality of the province, of which Jalalabad is the capital, has made it accessible to all Afghan factions and thus the site of most peace negotiations.

## Taleban

Both Rabbani and Hekmetyar have further welcomed talks with the Taleban. The militia, which the Afghan government charges is a creation of the Pakistani and American intelligence services, responded with their deadly assault on Kabul.

"We will continue to rocket Kabul because neither Hekmetyar nor Rabbani are honest at the negotiation table," said Mullah Ghomi, a frontline Taleban commander. "The only solution is to fight."

However in a sign that the Taleban may be losing the support of its outside patrons, Pakistani officials flew to Kabul on June 26 to gahns protesting against Pakistani interference in the country's affairs. The Afghan government has recently apologized for the attack, offered Pakistan compensation and agreed to rebuild the embassy.

**MUSLIM WORLD MONITOR**

July 5, 1996

Muslim World Monitor  
P.O. Box 745539  
Dallas, TX 75374

# New Afghan Cabinet Marks Hope for Peaceful Solution to Conflict

A new Afghan cabinet under the premiership of Gulbuddin Hekmetyar was sworn in on July 6 as the Taleban continued their relent-

less attacks on Kabul.

The new peace cabinet includes ministers from 5 different parties and leaves 12 posts empty for other factions which Afghan officials hope will soon join the government.

Hekmetyar, along with President Burhanuddin Rabbani, are negotiating with a number of groups which have not yet joined the government in the hope that the formation of a widely inclusive government can mark the first step toward ending the bloodshed in the country.

However, the Taleban, a militia group established and supported by Pakistan refuses to join the government and has continued its rocket attacks on Kabul. Such attacks have killed 181 civilians and wounded more than 300 others since Hekmetyar was named Prime Minister in late June.

In late July, Iran stepped up its efforts to encourage a peace deal between the Taleban and the Kabul government. Since Hekmetyar entered Kabul, there have also been signs that Pakistan may lessen its support for the Taleban and encourage the type of comprehensive peace that the Afghan government seeks. Two Afghan ministers have planned a visit to Pakistan in early August to discuss how to improve relations between the two countries.

The Iranian and Pakistani efforts coincided with the naming of a new U.N. envoy to Afghanistan, Norbert Holl, a German diplomat who replaces Mahmoud Mestiri. Holl also undertook an extensive visit to the region in late July which included trips to Pakistan and a number of Afghan cities where the government and different factions hold sway.

In the new Afghan cabinet, Prime Minister Hekmetyar's Hezb-i-Islami party was given the key ministries of defense and finance while Rabbani's Jamiat-i-Islami party took the interior ministry and retained foreign affairs.

The Hezb's Wahidullah Sabawoon and Abdul Hadi Arghandiwal were given the ministries of defense and finance respectively while the Jamiat's Mohammad Younus Qanuni was given the interior ministry. Abdurrahim

Ghafourzai of the Jamiat retained his position as deputy foreign minister. No foreign minister was named in the hope that the post could be given to another faction that agreed to participate in the government.

Ahmad Shah Ahmadzai, a former Prime Minister, became education minister and Qiyamuddin Kashaf received the information and culture portfolio. Both Ahmadzai and Kashaf are from the Ittehad-Islami party of Abdurrah Rasul Sayyaf.

Sayed Mohammad Ali Javid, a deputy prime minister in the previous cabinet became the minister of planning, while Sayed Hossein Anvari retained the ministry of labor and social welfare. Javid and Anvari are from the Harakat-i-Islami party led by Ayatollah Muhsini.

Said Hussein Alami Balkhi of Hezb-i-Wahdat (Akbari group) retained the commerce ministry.

In addition to the five groups which hold cabinet seats the relatively small Jama'at al-Da'wa led by Moulay Samee' Allah is allied with the government.

## Negotiations

Currently the Afghan government is holding negotiations with the other Mujahideen factions led by Mohammad Nabi, Younis Khalis, Sayyid Ahmad Geelani and the Khalili faction of the Hezb-al-Wahdat which they hope will enable them to fill the twelve cabinet posts which were intentionally left vacant to accommodate more factions.

It is also expected that Ahmad Shah Massoud, often considered the strongman of the Jamiat-i-Islami, will be given an official position when the final cabinet is announced.

President Rabbani noted that the inclusion of the Hezb-i-Islami in the government has taken the country much closer to achieving its goal of unity and has encouraged the other Mujahideen groups to negotiate much more seriously.

Lasting peace in the country would also require some kind of accommodation with both the Taleban and the Uzbek militia of Abdul Rasheed Dostum, neither of which participated in the struggle against the Soviet occupation and

both of which continue receiving extensive foreign aid. Between them the two groups control nearly 70% of the country though their opposition to the government is not coordinated.

The Afghan government has stated that it is willing to open negotiations with both groups and Hekmatyar has maintained contacts to Dostum which he hopes will help bring that faction into the government. Hekmatyar has also refrained from retaliating against Taliban attacks on Kabul encouraging that group to adopt the path of dialogue and understanding.

"If you want the post of prime minister or president then you can raise this matter on the conference table," Hekmatyar told the Taliban in an open statement.

## Iran and the U.N.

Iran, which has played an active role in mediating talks among different Afghan factions in the past few months, also announced in late July that it will step up its efforts to encourage a deal among the government and the two major opposition groups.

Iranian deputy foreign minister Alaaddin Boroujerdi said on July 30 that Iran would soon send a delegation to the Taliban-held towns of Kandahar and Herat to encourage them to give up their "warmongering activities" and to show Iran's concern over the recent rocketing of Kabul and the spread of narcotics in the area.

"Hekmatyar's reconciliation with the government encouraged us to continue and pursue our efforts for peace," Boroujerdi said. "We hope that the Taliban will give up its warmongering activities. We will try to persuade them to accept peace and undertake negotiations with the Kabul administration."

Boroujerdi also said that he will visit the northern town of Mazar-i-Sharif to try to persuade Dostum to join in the "peace convoy" and that he expected to see "a positive event" concerning the future relationship between the Kabul government and the opposition Shi'ite Muslim Hezb-

i-Wahdat faction led by Karim Khalili, over which Iran maintains strong influence.

U.N. envoy Norbert Holl also visited the region in late July where in addition to Pakistani and Afghan officials he met with leaders of the Taliban, Hezb-i-Wahdat and Dostum's faction as well as the governor of the neutral Nangarhar province. Holl said that he had brought no new formula for ending the country's conflict but that he saw hope in recent developments including the peace pact between Rabbani and Hekmatyar as well as a new interest in the region by the United States and Russia.

MUSLIM WORLD MONITOR  
August 3, 1996

## Masood's man in Afghan team due Friday

By Marlana Baabar

ISLAMABAD: With the thawing of relations between Kabul and Islamabad, it will be for the first time that a representative of Ahmed Shah Masood will sit across the table with his Pakistani counterparts.

Afghan Interior Minister Yunus Qanooni belongs to Masood's Shoorai-Nazar and represented him at Peshawar earlier at the Council of Ministers. Along with finance Minister Abdul Hali Aryhandwal he will be arriving on Friday to streamline arrangements of sending food and other necessary items into Kabul from Peshawar.

Qanooni is a Tajik from Panjshir and was the political advisor at the Minister of Defense in Kabul before the new alliance threw up Hezb-e-Islami's Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as the Prime Minister. It was at this stage that Qanooni, at the insistence of

Ahmed Shah Masood was given the Interior Ministry. He reports directly to Masood and it is indicated that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar has little control over matters relating to the interior.

In fact before Hekmatyar reached Kabul several depots of military equipment were shifted out of Kabul into areas controlled by Ahmed Shah Masood. In this the major role was played by Qanooni. Though President Burhanuddin Rabbani had rejected and welcomed his old foe Hekmatyar, the Lion of the Panjshir was not ready to welcome Hekmatyar and his men into Kabul with so much military supplies available.

"Qanooni is a very important man and extremely articulate. He was severely injured in the Kabul blast of 1993", acknowledged one source.

Haji Aryhandwal who is reportedly a weak Finance Minister as all powers lie with Rabbani's men. He is a Pushtoon from Pakwan area near Kabul and was first affiliated with the Jamat before joining the Hezb-e-Islami. Fluent in Urdu, Dari, Pushto and English the finance minister was educated in the United States. In fact he is a dark horse because his rising to the status of finance minister even surprised his own colleagues.

Interestingly when the government consulted the Afghan Embassy for details of these two ministers they were told that the embassy knew little about them.

NEWS (Pakistan) 8/1

See related article on p. 17.



# Hekmatyar lays down Islam-oriented policy

KABUL, July 10 (AFP): Afghanistan's new premier Wednesday pledged steps to protect civilians from official crime and corruption and imposed Islamic rules on the country's civil servants.

Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a former opposition chief who took office just two weeks ago, unveiled an ambitious law and order programme aimed at halting corruption and restoring stolen property to its legal owners.

Speaking to 2,500 civil servants, he also warned that women would be required to wear traditional black Muslim dresses and head covers and that officials who did not stop work at prayer time would be sacked.

"We expect civil servants to observe the principles of Islam, so prayers must be performed by all workers", he said in the address which was broadcast on national radio and television.

"When the call to prayer is made, all workers will stop what they are doing and go to prayers. I consider it proper that those who do not heed this rule will be dismissed", he warned the whispering group of officials. He added that he hoped Afghanistan would one day boast a society which would grind to a complete halt when the five-times daily prayer call was made.

The premier maintained that women would retain their equal economic role in this relatively unconservative Islamic society but warned that women civil servants would now have to obey a strict dress code.

"Women can work, have capital and can own property, but they must wear a dignified and decent Islamic costume which should preserve their religious and ethnic identity", he said. "At home a woman can wear make-up but outside she must be de-

cent", he added.

Hekmatyar also insisted that his new government did not believe in the illegal mixture of men and women in offices and classrooms, but he refused to be drawn by journalists on whether men and women would eventually be forced to work and study in partitioned rooms.

Hekmatyar, who battled the government for more than two years before joining it last month, promised that his coalition administration would crack down on rampant abuse of official power, crime and the lack of security for the Afghan people.

"An end has to be put to bribery and the use of connections in our administration, and as head of government it's my prime task to clear the system of corruption".

"From now on nobody will have the right to confiscate people's homes, shops and property or to use them without the permission of the rightful owner", the premier said. He said all stolen and confiscated property must be returned to its original owners within one month, or the government would "act seriously against the culprits".

The tough series of pledges to transform this largely lawless society's system of legal rights was seen by observers here as a bid by Hekmatyar to appeal to the citizens of Kabul who just two years ago were being targeted by rockets fired by Hekmatyar's troops. The crusading premier also called for severe cuts to be made to the civil service workforce and expenditure.

At a press conference later Wednesday, Hekmatyar, reiterated plans for the transfer of power from his interim administration to Afghanistan's first elected government.

He said he was "hopeful" that other warring factions would soon join the government including Shia leader Karim Khalili and northern warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum but would not say whether the factional chiefs were likely to cross over in the foreseeable future.

PPI adds: A commander of Afghan Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar left Kabul this week, compounding the premier's difficulties in completing his cabinet, the Afghan Islamic Press (AIP) said Wednesday.

Commander Zardad took his 200 armed supporters to Sarobi, east of Kabul, protesting that his group, which fought on the frontlines for Hekmatyar, was denied a place in the cabinet, the agency said.

Zardad's demand for the ministry for tribes, nationalities and frontier affairs came at a time when three of the nine ministers appointed by Hekmatyar have not taken their oath of office yet.

Meanwhile, Hizb-e-Islami Afghanistan (HIA) has categorically rejected western press reports that differences have surfaced between Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and his Commander Zardad for not giving the latter a ministry.

Zardad is one of the HIA commander and every decision of allotting portfolio, to different members of the party is the authority of the leadership" said Dr Ghairat Baheer, representative of HIA on Wednesday.

Dr Ghairat told PPI there was no difference between Commander Zardad and Hizb-e-Islami leadership Mr Zardad is still loyal to the party and its chief Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, he said.

The Muslim (Pakistan) 7/11

ہر گل بی خار  
نست  
"No rose is  
without thorns"

## The choice in Afghanistan

THE ECONOMIST JULY 20TH 1996

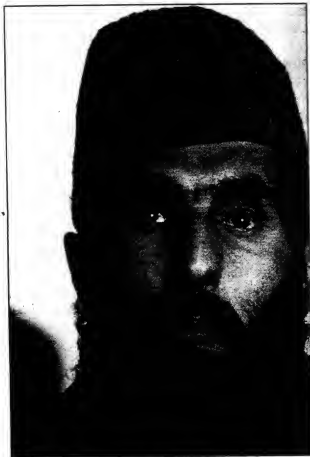
UNTIL this week, one of the few pleasures left in Kabul, the shattered capital of Afghanistan, was to watch an escapist movie. Now, however, the cinemas have been closed by order of the prime minister, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. They will reopen only when "suitably Islamic" films are available. Music has also been banned on Kabul's radio stations.

Mr Hikmatyar is a newcomer to Kabul. For years his faction was a bitter foe of the Kabul government led by President Burhanuddin Rabbani and was responsible for much of the damage to the capital. In June Mr Hikmatyar and Mr Rabbani formed an alliance against their common enemy, the Taliban, an extremist Islamic group that controls much

of Afghanistan outside the capital. Mr Hikmatyar seems keen to show that he is as much an Islamic zealot as any follower of the Taliban. Many Muslim women in Kabul have taken to wearing western-style clothes, a legacy from the days of communist rule, which ended in 1992. Mr Hikmatyar has now told them that they must henceforth wear "dignified dress".

However, Mr Hikmatyar is expected to deliver something more to the 1m people of Kabul than the restrictions of Islamic law. On July 15th he told government departments to order supplies of rice and other necessities, which would be allocated to local markets for sale at "reasonable" prices. But where would the supplies come from and how would they be paid for? The Red Cross, the Red Crescent and other agencies do their best to keep malnutrition at bay, but some foreign donors have become weary of Afghanistan's conflict. Recently, the main imports of the impoverished government have been afghani banknotes printed in Russia. As a result, the afghani is worth about 15,500 to the dollar, a third of its value at the start of the year.

Although Mr Hikmatyar has not specified his hoped-for benefit, it is probably Pakistan. For years Pakistan backed Mr Hikmatyar as the leader of a united Afghanistan, switching to the Taliban when it seemed he was a loser. Now that he is in the centre of things, Pakistan may think he is worth supporting again. With Kabul already anxious about keeping warm and fed next winter, trading a visit to the cinema for life's necessities may not seem too bad a bargain.



Unmusical Hikmatyar

## Govt cancels food, fuel permits for Afghanistan

From Behroz Khan

PESHAWAR: Afghanistan's problems of food and fuel shortage may further worsen with the decision by the Pakistan government to cancel all permits issued by the ISI for the supply of these items of daily use.

The federal government's move to close the Torkham border for all kinds of transportation on the permission granted by the ISI has come just a week before the scheduled visit of a high level Afghan delegation to Pakistan. The delegation which will reach Islamabad on August 2 is led by Afghan inter-

rior minister Yunus Qanooni. Kabul has time and again blamed Islamabad, specially the ISI for helping and supporting the anti-Rabbani forces.

"We have received the orders not to allow entry of the food stuff, fuel and vehicles to Afghanistan on permits issued by ISI" informed officials of the political authorities of Khyber Agency. An informed source told The News that a number of permits which were issued to various commanders in the past, stand cancelled and the decision is being strictly implemented from Thursday. All the permits issued to passenger buses and private vehicles, a border source said have also been cancelled.

The imposition of heavy taxes ranging from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 20,000 per truck by District Council, Peshawar on food and fuel supply to Afghanistan is yet another factor to discourage the cross border trade. New permits for the supply of the daily use items to Afghanistan are being issued by the State and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) from Islamabad.

A source also claimed that the decision was taken in order to streamline the transportation of the stuff in line with Islamabad policy on Afghanistan on the other.

It is also learnt that the Afghan delegation will discuss the possibilities of opening up the Torkham-Kabul-Hairatan-Sher Khan Bandar route to provide Islamabad the trade access to Central Asian states. The offer, sources said was likely to be made by Kabul. The two sides are also scheduled to explore ways and means for opening a market in Pakistan to shift the dry and fresh fruit from Afghanistan.

The fruit supply was suspended from Afghanistan since long as relations between the two countries were severed following the attack on Pakistan's embassy in Kabul. The delegation, sources said would also try to convince Islamabad to reopen its embassy in Kabul which was closed down in September last year.

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/28

ل بدی ورځی سړی  
خرت هم مایا وائی.

In bad days a man calls even a donkey his uncle.

Meaning: Necessity teaches the bear to dance.

## Ittehad-i-Islami demands removal of nonbelievers from govt

### Bureau Report

PESHAWAR: Prof Sayyaf's Ittehad-i-Islami, an ally of President Burhanuddin Rabbani, has demanded removal of all communists and atheists from the Afghan government.

The party's central committee, which met in Paghman near Kabul under the chairmanship of Prof Sayyaf, also warned their two rivals—education minister Aliuddin Shah Alimadad and information minister Qayyumuddin Khashtaf—that they would have to resign if they failed to 'Islamise' the working of their respective ministries.

Torayad Himmatt, a central committee member of Ittehad-i-Islami, told *The News* here Thursday that the party would review its decision to support the Rabbani government if it didn't initiate steps to enforce Shariat in all walks of life in Afghanistan, including politics, economy, armed forces, information and culture, and social life. He said his party wanted mujahideen and good Muslims appointed at all important government positions. He added that his party was opposed to any role in the Afghan government for Gen Rasheed Dostum's Junbush-i-Melli Islami as it was led by former communists.

According to Himmatt, the Ittehad-i-Islami central executive called on all mujahideen groups and the Taliban to put an end to bloodshed in Afghanistan and join hands to restore peace and install an Islamic government. He said the party reiterated its support for the Muslims all over the world in Chechnya, Palestine, Bosnia, Tajikistan, Kashmir, Algeria, Burma. *THE NEWS (Pakistan)*

7/12

## Rich Afghans asked to finance health, education projects

From Abdullah Jan

PESHAWAR: Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees (CAR) has asked rich Afghans to finance certain health and educational projects at the refugees camps in NWFP which are facing complete closure due to a sharp decrease in foreign assistance.

As many as 25 schools and 15 hospitals/dispensaries in different refugees camps in NWFP are running out of finances and might be closed, if funds are not provided immediately. These schools and hospitals were established by the Afghan refugees with the help of different Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) which also kept financing the projects till a couple of years ago.

"Refugees elders in the camps have asked us to save the closure of these schools and hospitals and we floated the idea of involving Afghan traders to finance these projects," CAR Commissioner Rustam Shah Mohmand told *The News*.

CAR authorities sent invitations to about fifty prominent Afghan traders, who held a meeting with the

elders of the Peshawar-based refugees at the commissionerate offices in Peshawar on Thursday. Threadbare discussions were held about financing the sick health and educational projects and ultimately certain committees constituted for further debate.

The commissionerate officials, who attended the meeting, briefed the invited traders about the dispensaries and schools which might be closed due to financial constraints and need funds.

Sources in the commissionerate said the Afghan traders asked for time to discuss the matter among themselves and evaluate technicalities. "Traders may reply next week," they added.

However, Rustam Shah claimed that Afghan traders gave a positive response and are ready to provide finances for the collapsing educational and health projects in the refugees camps. He explained that the commissionerate only floated an idea and has got nothing else to do with the issue. "Now its the traders and refugees to settle the things," he added.

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/26

## Dostum trying to weaken currency



THE NATION

(Pakistan) 6/25

ISLAMABAD (Agencies) - Government officials in the Afghan capital, Kabul, said they suspected that General Abdur Rashid Dostum was attempting to weaken the official currency, Afghani, by issuing unauthorised high value bank notes, BBC reported Wednesday.

It said, since the appearance last week of unofficial notes of ten thousand Afghanis, the value of the official currency had fallen to a new low. The government said General Dostum, who was based in the north of the country, was trying to bring economic chaos to the capital.

The Governor of the Central Bank in Kabul said the notes were of very high quality and were printed overseas.

More than one year now, there had been two official virtually identical currencies in Afghanistan, one issued by the Kabul Government and the other by General Dostum.

The government notes are accepted throughout the rest of the country even within the areas controlled by the opposition Taliban.

Until recently, the General had limited himself to issuing notes with no value more than one thousand Afghanis, but since the introduction of the new ten thousand Afghani notes, confusion had prevailed.

The Finance Ministry and the Central Bank were very worried about it which would have an adverse effect on the already faltering Afghani.

# Afghan govt moves against forged currency

KABUL (AFP) — The Afghan government has set up a special commission to probe a wave of forged local currency which is flooding into Kabul's money exchange markets, a top official said Monday.

"We have to identify those responsible for planning and printing these forged banknotes so that they can be sued in the international courts," presidential spokesman Abdul Aziz Murad said.

"The problem has not achieved very serious proportions yet, but we consider this to be an act of betrayal against the Afghan people which could have a very negative effect on our economy," he warned.

Murad said a wave of forged 10,000 Afghani (0.64 dollars) banknotes -- the country's highest denomination bill -- had flooded the central bank and exchange markets here over recent months.

"We have not been able to ascertain the value of the forged notes on the market yet, but we are looking into it," he said.

The bills are printed abroad on the orders of "traitors of Afghanistan" in a bid to destabilise the country's precarious

economy, he alleged.

He however declined to say where the bills were being printed nor who the government of president Burhanuddin Rabbani believed was responsible for the forgeries.

Murad said the country's highest decision-making body, the High State Council, had discussed the matter at a regular meeting Sunday and had decided to take action to combat the problem.

Various warring factions in divided Afghanistan already commission and print their own versions of the quickly sliding Afghani, causing rivalry between the groups and a vast oversupply of the currency.

Analysts here believe most Afghani bills are printed in the former Soviet Union, while some come from Pakistan, Britain and Germany. No confirmation on their origin was however immediately available here.

With the country's industrial and agricultural sectors in tatters following 16 years of bitter civil war, the Kabul government and northern warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum keep their economies afloat by printing more banknotes to supply their

budgetary needs.

The practice, coupled with rampant speculation in the unofficial markets, has caused spiralling inflation and sparked a 300 percent devaluation of the Afghani in Kabul's markets over the last 10 months.

Prices of basic foods and fuels have skyrocketed simultaneously, putting the essentials of life in this battered city out of the reach of hundreds of thousands of impoverished Kabulites.

The phenomenon triggered a destructive vicious cycle, with the rampant inflation pushing besieged Kabul's monetary authorities to print more banknotes to cope with the massive price rises.

Afghanistan's economic czar recently blamed the country's deepening monetary and economic crisis on years of war, political instability and on a badly botched economic reform.

While conceding that the printing of fresh banknotes contributed to inflation, Dr Hamidullah Tarzi, a cabinet minister without portfolio responsible for economic affairs, said the government had little choice at the moment if it was to implement its planned programmes.

FRONTIER POST 7/23

## Afghan City Captured By Rebels

By Zaheeruddin Abdullah  
Associated Press

KABUL, Afghanistan, Sept. 11 — Islamic rebels captured the eastern city of Jalalabad today, gaining virtual control of nearly two-thirds of Afghanistan and sending government troops retreating to the capital.

At least 70 people were reported killed in the Taliban's takeover of Jalalabad, but that figure could not be independently confirmed.

"We are in control and will set up a true Islamic government in Nangarhar province," Taliban commander Mullah Burjan said in a telephone interview from Jalalabad.

The conquest puts increased pressure on President Burhanuddin Rabbani's ruling coalition in the capital. The president has accused Pakistan of aiding the Islamic seminarians-turned-guerrilla fighters, who have imposed strict religious rule in areas under their control.

Pakistan sealed the border Tuesday when Afghan religious students tried to cross into Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taliban, the most conservative of the Islamic factions that have fought for control here since the Communists lost power in 1992.

Burjan promised his soldiers would continue their march 75 miles to Kabul and institute their form of Islamic government there as well.

In the meantime, he set up headquarters in the sprawling governor's mansion in the middle of Jalalabad. Nangarhar Gov. Haji Abdul Qadir had fled to Pakistan on Tuesday along with several senior lieutenants and their families.

Jalalabad is close to a major power plant and the vital government airfield at Baghram, 18 miles north of the capital of Kabul, which is now vulnerable to Taliban strikes.

It also gives the Taliban control over a major ground route for supplies to Kabul from Pakistan. Most of the goods available in Kabul come from Pakistan.

Witnesses said Taliban soldiers also captured several strategic posts on the border with Pakistan, raising their flag and shouting religious slogans.

THE WASHINGTON POST

SEPTEMBER 12, 1996



## Masood's remarks endanger Pak-Afghan talks

By Mariana Baabar

ISLAMABAD: Pak-Afghan talks scheduled to start from August 10 are in jeopardy once again, as this time Islamabad is demanding an explanation from Kabul about certain disparaging remarks its top military commander Ahmed Shah Masood and deputy foreign minister Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai made recently about Pakistan.

The two leaders had complained about "interference" by Pakistan and had claimed that such alleged acts of interference had been recorded internationally to put pressure on Pakistan to hold bilateral talks.

These allegations have annoyed Islamabad and reliable sources say that the matter has been taken up with the Kabul regime at the highest level.

Islamabad is not reacting at the moment, hoping that sanity would prevail and so that the talks could run smoothly.

In an interview with Radio France International, Ahmed Shah Masood had asked Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to order an end to "interference" in Afghanistan's affairs as a first step towards holding sincere talks with the Afghan government to resolve bilateral issues. "Pakistan has all

along interfered in our internal affairs. It did so in the past and is doing the same now," he said a few days before dates for the visit of the Afghan delegation were announced.

"We are having second thoughts about whether we should go ahead with these talks. We have been told that there would be more efforts from vested interests to jeopardize these talks and we expect more such statements," a senior official told The News.

It has not been Ahmed Shah Masood alone who has thrown a spanner in the works. The deputy foreign minister, Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai said, "Our only condition (for reconstruction work) is that propaganda against us should be stopped so that necessary trust and friendship is built between our two countries." While commenting on Kabul's complaints against Pakistan at international forums he explained, "We only wanted to record these acts of interference and put pressure on Pakistan to hold bilateral talks with the Afghan government on all outstanding issues."

Islamabad is clearly not amused. Officials deny any pressure on Pakistan and say that it was Prime Minis-

ter Gulbadin Hekmatyar who had sent his special envoy to pave the way for talks with Pakistan (to discuss the supply of food and fuel to Kabul). In fact the Foreign Office, at least till Monday, was also not ready to allow Dr Ghairat Bashier, Hekmatyar's special envoy, to give an explanation on behalf of Ahmed Shah Masood.

As the struggle for power between different Afghan groups continues, the Afghan Trade and Development Cell (ATDC) also seems reluctant to start reconstruction work inside Afghanistan.

The Kabul regime understands clearly that if it continues to oppose the Chaman to Torkhundi road in the Taliban area, there will be no construction in areas held by them. It is for this reason that they have now approached the ATDC and asked them to repair and reconstruct the road from Jalalabad to Kabul. Ghafoorzai, in the same interview, had said, "Pakistan's plan to build the road in western Afghanistan isn't a problem." The Kabul regime has also requested the repair of a massive communication network close to Kabul which has been partly damaged due to continuous rocket attacks. Kabul city depends on it for its communication needs.



NEWS (Pakistan)  
8/6/96

## Nangrahar sends forces to crush rebellion in Torkham

From Behroz Khan

PESHAWAR: The ruling Nangrahar Shura in eastern Afghanistan Monday despatched a sizeable number of its fighters to Torkham to crush the rebellion of a pro-Kabul government mujahideen commander near the Pak-Afghan border.

Eyewitness told The News that tanks and other military arsenal have been moved to Landi Khyber and Malga Kandao in the Shalman area by the Nangrahar Shura to rescue transporters and traders and ensure smooth traffic on the main Torkham-Jalalabad Highway. Khurshid, a local commander, who switched loyalties from Nabi Muhammad's Harkat Inqilab-i-Islami to Rabbani-led coalition, has established his own checkpoint on the highway and is collecting taxes from transporters.

The commander, locals informed, managed to raise a strong group of

more than 400 armed persons to challenge the writ of Haji Qadeer-led Nangrahar Shura in the area. It is reported that the Kabul government was not only supplying military assistance to Khurshid but has sent fighters as well. Kabul government was trying its level best to capture the revenue generating customs post at the Pak-Afghan border.

Meanwhile, a Nangrahar Shura member Abdul Ghani Hidayat told The News that all customs, security and immigration staff at Torkham had been removed and replaced by new people. He said the Shura was in full control of the situation and traffic on the Torkham-Jalalabad highway had been restored. He also said the Shura had collected all heavy weapons from the Shinwari and Mohmand antagonists in the Rodat-Hissarshahi area during the past two days after a ceasefire Saturday noon. He added that Shura

forces began shifting the seized arms to Jalalabad Monday.

The Shinwari Mandezi tribe from Deh Bala and Mohammads belonging to Hissarshahi area used tanks, mortars and other heavy weapons to pound each other's positions in their fighting over ownership of a wasteland called Toragha. Several people were killed and wounded in the fighting. Commanders who are members of the Nangrahar Shura took sides in the conflict and supplied arms to the combatants. Haji Qadeer and commander Maula Jan were alleged to have backed the Shinwaris while commanders Fazal Haq Mujahid, Sazmoor and Engineer Mahmud were said to have supported the Hissarshahi people.

Nangrahar, hitherto known as one of the peaceful provinces of Afghanistan, has now become engulfed in political, tribal and regional strife.



# HIA, Taliban locked in fighting in Paktia

From Shamin Shahid

PESHAWAR — There are conflicting reports about the fighting between Hizbe Islami of Engineer Gulbadin Hekmatyar and Taliban's militia for a military installation at Gomal Taboot area in Wargoon Tehsil of Paktia Province.

The independent sources from Miran Shah, headquarter of North Waziristan Agency confirmed that Hizbe Islami had lost its important military centre while the Hizbe Islami Peshawar contradicted the report but confirmed fierce fighting between the two rival forces. The Taliban representatives in Peshawar are tight lipped over the matter.

As per reports, an army of 700 Taliban under the supervision of Paktia Governor Maulvi Abdul Baqi Haqani launched an attack against Hizbe Islami's military centre at Gomal Taboot area. The Hizbe Islami's military centre is supervised by commander Khalid Farooq. The Hizbe Islami confirmed the said reports but claimed of repulsing it after two hours fierce fighting. But the independent sources from

Miran Shah informed that in the first ever attack against Hizbe Islami, Taliban have captured the military centre injuring a commander of Hizbe Islami seriously and arresting 10 others.

However, after loosing the military centre, the Hizbe Islami asked its allies for help and with the help of mujahideen of other forces, they launched an attack for recapturing the lost place. The sources from North Waziristan Agency said that fierce fighting is going on in the area. The sources said that dozens of people either have lost their lives or received serious injuries in the fighting.

It may be mentioned here that former Afghan Deputy Prime Minister and a leader of Maulvi Nabi Mohammadi's Harkat Islami Maulvi Arsala Rehmani belongs to the said area. The reports reveal that Taliban enjoy support of Maulvi Rehmani who is holding a strong position in the area. The Harkat Islami of Maulvi Nabi Mohammadi is supporter of Taliban amongst the seven

main jihadic groups.

The Hizbe Islami representatives in Peshawar when contacted confirmed the clashes between mujahideen of their party and Taliban. However, the Hizbe Islami representatives claimed of repulsing the attack.

The Hizbe Islami representatives said that on Sunday at 3.00 pm Taliban had launched the attack and after two hours fighting it was repulsed. They said that during two hours fighting Hizbe Islami inflicted heavy human and property losses on Taliban. They claimed that seven soldiers of Taliban were killed and dozens of others received serious injuries. At least 20 supporters of Taliban were arrested and three vehicles included a Hino truck, a jeep and a Datsun pick up were captured. The Hizbe Islami confirmed that fighting between the two groups is still going on.

NATION (Pakistan) 7/23 —

## Weekly notes . . .

**Sen. Hank Brown**, Colorado Republican, told a press conference in Pakistan's capital Wednesday that leaders of Afghanistan's Taliban militia told him they're ready to swap seven Russian airmen for seven Afghans held by Moscow. The radical Muslim militia sieged the Russians a year ago after forcing their ammunition-carrying Ilyushin-76 cargo plane to land at Kandahar.

WASHINGTON TIMES 8/17

See p. 25

## Shell hits near UNICEF's Afghan HQ during vaccination ceasefire

KABUL: Shells fired by the Taliban militia narrowly missed the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) offices here Wednesday, shattering a truce specially brokered by the agency, witnesses said.

The attack came on the fourth day of a five-day ceasefire arranged by UNICEF to allow the second round of its massive polio vaccination campaign to go ahead across war-torn Afghanistan.

The artillery round, which landed just 15 meters from UNICEF's now deserted Kabul headquarters, blew in the office's remaining windows and sprayed the premises with chunks of shrapnel.

Another shell landed 30 meters away from UNICEF, slightly injuring two passers-by and causing extensive damage to nearby buildings in Kabul's once-plush suburb of Wazir

Akbar Khan, doctors and witnesses said.

The large concrete building was empty, as the agency had earlier this year moved its personnel to other premises in Kabul in a bid to further assure their security, officials said.

Government and military sources here said the D-30 artillery shells were fired by the Taliban militia who have been encamped on battered Kabul's outskirts for the past nine months. The shells were the first to fall in this besieged city since last Thursday when at least seven people were killed and 26 injured in an artillery barrage that struck a busy market place.

UNICEF officials in the western Pakistani city of Peshawar were dismayed at the attack which came after all sides in the Afghan civil war had agreed to a cessation of hostilities to facilitate the crucial round of vacci-

nations.

"I am extremely disturbed to hear that shells have come during our programme when women and children are trying to get to our immunisation centres around the country," information officer Jeremy Hartley said.

"UNICEF will be passing messages to the various warring parties asking them to investigate who fired the shells and to avoid further incidents," the UNICEF officer, responsible for Afghanistan, added.

The vaccination ceasefire, which began on July 21 and which ends Thursday, was the second such agreement brokered by UNICEF in just over a month. The UN children's agency's Mass Immunisation Campaign is targetting three million children under the age of five as well as one million mothers in this isolated central Asian state.—AFP

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/25

## Afghan tribes armed with tanks take positions

PESHAWAR: Tension has risen in Afghanistan's Nangarhar province bordering Pakistan with two tribes armed with tanks and mortars taking up positions against each other following a land dispute.

Afghan sources said 24 tanks have been acquired by the Mohmand tribe of Sarshahi near Jalalabad while the Shinwari Mandezei tribe of Deh Bala district were said to be in possession of about a dozen tanks. Both sides were in the process of receiving even more tanks. They also possessed tanks and heavy guns and were collecting donations to buy more sophisticated weapons.

Ironically, the disputed land, Toragha, was a desert. The two tribes have already lost about four lives each in recent clashes and suffered material losses.

The disturbing aspect of the situation was the division in the ruling Mujahideen Shura in Nangarhar province with regard to the land dispute. Shura members and commanders Fazal Haq Mujahid and Ustad Saznoor were reported to be backing the Sarshahi Mohmands while Nangarhar Governor Haji Abdul Qadeer and his commanders from Hezb-i-Islami (Khalis) were said to be supplying arms to the Shinwaris. Certain other commanders were also accused of taking sides in the conflict. Most of Hezb-i-Islami (Hekmatyar) and Ittehad-i-Islami (Sayyaf) commanders were with Sarshahi Mohmands as the conflict increasingly looks like becoming political and tribal in character.

Young Shinwaris were said to have taken up positions at Shola while their rivals were entrenched at Pewa. The tension in the area has disrupted traffic and agricultural and economic activities. The common people were angry with the ruling Nangarhar Shura for fuelling the conflict instead of initiating steps to resolve it.

## Afghan troops → airlifted to area near Torkham

From Our Correspondent  
NATION (Pakistan) 8/5

NEWS (Pakistan)

7/24

## Tribal tension forces refugees to flee Jalalabad

NEWS  
(Pakistan)

7/28

AFP

KABUL: Thousands of refugees have flooded into besieged Kabul from the UN camp in eastern Afghanistan amid reports of friction between two rival tribes in the area, officials said Saturday.

About 1,200 displaced people — nearly four times the daily average — arrived here Thursday from the United Nations Sarshahi refugee camp near the city of Jalalabad, Terry Pitzner on the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) told AFP.

The sudden surge in refugees returning to this besieged capital came as reports reached here of mounting tensions between two heavily armed opposing tribes near the camp.

"These people are obviously desperate to get away from the areas," he said. "They are arriving packed onto trucks and bringing no possessions at all. Many of the refugees are complaining about the security situation, saying that armed men are coming into the camp and stealing property such as tents and interfering with the residents," Pitzner added.

He said the refugees were returning to Kabul's battered suburbs, some of which have suffered 70 to 80 per cent destruction in factional fighting over the past four years.

PESHAWAR — In order to implement their May 22 accord regarding expanding the area under Kabul government control up to Pak-Afghan border post of Torkham, President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Prime Minister Gulbadin Hekmatyar reportedly airlifted their loyal armed soldiers to Shamshad Sar, headquarter of Ittehad Islami, near the border, late on Friday night.

Reports from Torkham and Jalalabad said that soldiers of three allies, Hizbe Islami, Jamiat Islami and Ittehad Islami, were airlifted by helicopters from Kabul to Shamshad Sar. The Ittehad Islami of Prof. Abdul Rab Rasool Sayaf has established a multi-purpose headquarter in Shamshad Sar after they were ejected from Speena Shaga of Pakhtia province of Taliban in late 1994 and early 1995.

Some highly placed sources in Peshawar confirmed airlifting of hundreds of soldiers by the Kabul administration to the border areas in a bid to replace the mujahideen loyal to

The refugees will be surveyed for bread rations by the UN's World Food Programme while the UNHCR will attempt to integrate them as far as possible into a community labour force.

About 350 to 400 refugees per day have been steadily returning to their former homes in Kabul for many months, but the number shot up to 700 on Wednesday and then to a record 1,200 on Thursday, Pitzner said.

News reports from neighbouring Pakistan have said that the Mohmand and Shinwari Mandezei tribes, which are both based near Sarshahi, had armed themselves with tanks and mortars as tension over a land dispute mounted between the two groups.

Isolated clashes between the two tribes have been reported in recent weeks, but sources in the area reportedly fear the conflict would escalate into a full-scale military battle.

No independent confirmation of the mounting tribal tension, a frequent occurrence in divided and rural Afghanistan, could however be immediately obtained in isolated Kabul.

Tens of thousands of impoverished refugees who once fled the war-torn capital have returned to Kabul over the last 16 months to take over the remains of their homes or to stay with relatives.

Governor Nangarhar Haji Abdul Qadeer Khan. However, sources close to Kabul allies say that these forces were airlifted for controlling the situation that erupted after armed clashes between Shinwaris and Mohmand tribesmen in the desert of Sarshahi. The clashes have so far claimed about 45 lives and caused the blockade of the road between Jalalabad and Torkham.

Governor of Nangarhar Haji Abdul Qadeer Khan, who was recently in Germany, arrived in Peshawar a few days ago. He was reportedly in Jalalabad late on Friday night and convened a joint jirga of Shinwari and Mohmand tribal elders on Saturday morning. The jirga decided to hand over all big and sophisticated weapons to the Nangarhar administration. In this connection, Haji Abdul Qadeer Khan assigned the task to his loyal commander Ghaffar. The jirga decision is likely to enable the Nangarhar administration to declare a ceasefire in the armed clashes between the rival tribes.

However, the reports pouring in from tribesmen. The fighting was reported in several villages and it so far caused loss of lives to around 45 people. Peshawar from the Border Nangarhar province reveals that armed clashes are in progress between the armed

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

From the Editor:

Late again but, we hope, worth the wait.

There has been a spate of meetings on Afghanistan in the US: starting with a session in Elmhurst, Queens, NY sponsored by Taliban backers in early June; Congressional hearings on Afghanistan at the end of June; a series of dialogues on the West Coast in July and August, some under the auspices of the Council of Cooperation for Afghan Nat'l Organizations; and a two-day "First Afghan Intercontinental Conference in Search of Peace" in Queens in September. Presumably such discussion will continue, producing resolutions & peace proposals. We hope that someday, somehow, some sort of workable solution will be forthcoming.

What was forthcoming for this issue: many clippings, computer info, reports, newsletters & publications. We are very grateful & we hope you will continue to send us everything you can find about Afghans & Afghanistan. We hope you enjoy reading it as much as we enjoy putting it together - even tho it seems to be taking us longer & longer to do it! Look at it this way - there are more pages in this issue. Deadline for the next issue - November 1.

SABAWOON is a quarterly magazine edited & published by Abdul-Qayum Mohmand in Pushto & English. It features articles on cultural, social & political issues of Afghanistan and is \$10 per year. Subscriptions are available from SABAWOON, P.O. Box 8297, Fountain Valley, CA 92728. Fax: (310) 391-0654.

SECTARIANISM AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN AFGHANISTAN by Musa Khan Jalazai, Vanguard Books, 1995.

DESIGN & COLOR IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE with photographs by Roland & Sabrina Michaud and text by Michael Barry, Vendome Press, 1966. (The American edition of FAIENCES D'AZUR, published in France.) Many of the photographs were taken in Afghanistan. 316 pp. \$85.

CHANSONS FOLKLORIQUES AFGHANES, with songs collected by Afghan guitarist Khalid Arman & translated into French by Serge de Beaurecueil (Dari) & Nadjib Manalai (Pushto), is available from CEREDAF, 16, Passage de la Main d'Or, 75011 Paris. ca. 100 pp. 75 Ff + 25 Ff postage.

SOWJETISCHE GEHEIMDOKUMENTE ZUM AFGHANISTANKRIEG (1978-1991) (Secret Soviet Documents on the Afghan War) by P. Allan, P. Bucherer, D. Klay, A.A. Stahel & J. Stussi-Lauterburg was published in Zurich by Hochschulverlag AG. 832 pp.

صبر تلخ است  
لاکن بر شریب ط  
Patience is  
bitter, but  
its fruit is  
sweet.



Signe Wilkinson  
Philadelphia Daily News  
Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate

# Fierce fighting erupts between Kabul, Dostum forces

the administration by boosting its presence and possibly its forces in the north," one analyst said. **NATION (Pakistan)**

8/1

## UN cuts assistance

The UN postponed its decision to terminate aid to the Tajik refugees based in Mazar, a northern city in Afghanistan.

The UN officials had said they would stop helping 5,000 Tajik refugees in the Sakhi Refugee Camp outside Mazar by March 31.

This decision was opposed by the Tajik opposition leaders and the refugees, who said situation in Tajikistan was not ripe for the safe return of the refugees.

A UN official in Islamabad said the decision to terminate aid to the Tajik refugees would be reviewed.

There are around 20,000 Tajik refugees in Afghanistan. Only 5,000 of them receive aid from the UN. The remaining 15,000 refugees, who live in Kunduz and Takhar provinces, do not receive any aid from the UN. Some Arab relief organization provide limited aid to these refugees.

for UNHCR in Afghanistan said.

He said the agency had begun 11 skills training projects for 240 women and 160 men at the camp in recent months. It had drilled two deep wells and 50 refugees were preparing the land to grow food to supplement UNHCR rations.

Many refugees are clearly near destitution. Along the bumpy, dusty road to the camp, dozens of European-looking men shovel dirt into potholes and ask passing drivers for money.

Sakhi's hospital, run by the French charity Medecins Sans Frontieres, is full of babies and young children suffering from malnutrition and preventable diseases.

The hospital, built underground to avoid the extreme temperatures the camp suffers, looks like an air-raid shelter. Camp beds are crammed into narrow, dimly-lit rooms, where babies swing in papooses above beds watched by anxious mothers.

Outside, the sun beats down on the camp's mud huts as the temperature climbs towards 50 Celsius. In winter the thermometer can plunge to minus 30C. The camp sits in a featureless desert of brown earth and dust with no trees or plants in sight.

to Tajik refugees  
AFHANews, Vol 12, #5, May

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/23

KABUL (AFP) - Fierce fighting is raging in northern Afghanistan between Kabul government troops and the forces of warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostum, officials and sources said here Wednesday.

The intense clashes between Dostum's men and soldiers loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani's top military commander, Ahmed Shah Masood, have been on for a week, sources from the area said.

"Fighting has been extremely heavy all week and continued late into Tuesday night," a government source said here.

"Scores of civilians and several soldiers have been killed in the fighting which has shown no signs of calming down yet," he added.

Dostum, who controls the northern part of this factually-divided country, ordered more than 40 aerial bombing raids to be carried out in the two bordering strife-torn districts of Saripul province, he added.

Heavy weapons were being used by both sides — which have not fought each other for more than a year — to pound each other's positions in the area, which lies about 120 kilometers southwest of the Dostum's "capital" at Mazar-i-Sharif, another official said.

Independent sources from the area

confirmed that fighting was raging between the two sides for a week, with casualties on both sides and among civilians in the area.

"The fighting broke out after Masood's forces in attempted to extend their political influence in the area, an act which Dostum saw as provocative, government and independent sources said.

"Dostum attacked the two districts as he felt threatened by Masood's forces' attempts to expand their organisational set-ups in the north," a source told AFP.

"The pockets inside Dostum's area could be used by commanders to try and lure Dostum's commanders over to the government side, which would obviously make Dostum nervous," he added. The clashes in Kohestanat and Sanjarak districts — government-held pockets within Dostum's territory — could deal a serious blow to relations between him and Kabul, which is attempting to woo the northern leader, analysts said.

Dostum's party has reportedly been holding talks with the government, which is desperately trying to broaden its base by attracting other factional leaders.

"Perhaps the government was trying to put pressure on Dostum to come into

## Tajik refugees cling to grim Afghan camp

From Sarah Horner

SAKHI CAMP, Afghanistan: Brown dust swirls around this northern Afghan desert camp, housing about 7,000 impoverished refugees who believe their life would be even worse if they went home to troubled Tajikistan.

Afghanistan's long-running conflict makes it an unlikely place to seek refuge, but 60,000 Tajiks poured over the border in 1992 to escape their country's own civil war.

Despite a UN-brokered ceasefire agreed in 1994, clashes still occur in Tajikistan between government forces and a loose Islamic-liberal alliance which lost a bloody war in 1992.

Most refugees have gone home, but some stay, saying they fear persecution. They accuse the UN High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR) of using food as a lever to get them to go.

"When we came here in 1992, we had complete assistance," said Abdul Samed, a refugee. Food rations were reduced by 10 percent after a year and another 10 percent in October 1995.

"It's to make life difficult so that people will go back," Samed said. "They can't tell us directly to go, we know the rules of the UNHCR."

The UNHCR says it still provides full food rations to 67 vulnerable families at the Sakhi camp, 18 km (11 miles) north of Mazar-i-Sharif city, and 80 percent rations to the rest.

"The intention in applying a marginal reduction in food rations is to encourage the refugees to seek employment and become independent of external assistance," Anoush Daneshvar, deputy chief of mission

## Afghan media workers warn government over women's rights

KABUL: Women working in Afghanistan's state media sector have publicly warned the country's new government not to implement a widely feared crackdown on women's rights.

The warning came after premier Gulbaddin Hikmatyar sparked a wave of public concern here by calling for a tightening of Afghanistan's Islamic law just days after taking office last month. The call in a series of policy speeches sparked fears among working women in the battered capital that the government may be preparing new rules to restrict women's liberties.

On Sunday, about 300 female workers at the state radio and television station and film company called on Hikmatyar's three-week-old government to shelve any plans to ban the country's women from working.

"We called this meeting because there were rumours that Hikmatyar's government wanted to ban women from working and taking part in other social activities," veteran newscaster Shafiq Habiibi said.

"We women wanted to speak out about our demands for rights and for the authorities to listen to them and give us their reaction," said Habiibi, who heads a group uniting female workers in the media business.

"Our aim was to prove that our taking part in all aspects of life is imperative for the continued existence of society, and to warn the govern-

ment not to go ahead with any hard-line policy regarding women," she said.

The conference came after Hikmatyar said that women should wear "proper and decent" Islamic costumes and that civil servants who failed to stop work at prayer time should be sacked.

Days later, Kabul's six remaining cinemas were shut, on the orders of Hikmatyar's cabinet for not showing "suitably Islamic" films, prompting fears and speculation here that a general religious crackdown may be in the pipeline.

But Habiibi said the new minister of culture and information had assured women at Sunday's meeting that women would be allowed to continue to work in all economic sectors and had repeated the premier's remarks on social and economic importance of women.

"I don't think Hikmatyar said in his policy that women don't have the right to education or to work, but worrying rumours have developed suggesting the contrary," she said.

"I am now satisfied that this is an end to the matter as far as these rumours of a crackdown are concerned, but if any new policy or rumour comes up we will certainly speak out again," she added.

Habiibi said most producers and technical staff at Radio-Television Afghanistan, as well as a good number of journalists, were women doing a valuable job. —AFP

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/23

## Afghan women urged to work for integration



ISLAMABAD (Agenoles) — The Afghan Prime Minister Gulbaddin Hekmatyar stressed the need for unity among all Islamic organisations so as to help restore peace in Afghanistan.

According to Radio Kabul, he was talking to a delegation of Afghan women who called on him in his office Friday. Hekmatyar discussed the prevailing situation in Afghanistan. He also threw light on the rights and obligations of the women folk for playing an effective role in checking moral degradation in the society.

He told the meeting that four years long civil war had disrupted the Afghan society and this situation had pushed back the country in the sphere of social development with the result that Afghanistan had lagged far behind other countries of the society.

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/21

## Police shake-up in Jalalabad

### Bureau Report

PESHAWAR: A new force of 400 policemen have taken over duties in Jalalabad in place of those transferred en masse as part of an administrative shake-up.

Nangarhar Governor Abdul Qadeer told The News that the security, immigration and customs staff at the border town of Torkham with Pakistan had also been replaced following complaints of corruption and indiscipline. Qadeer refuted the reports that some of the transferred officers had refused to accept the orders.

NEWS (Pakistan) 8/10

## Rebel pilot deserts

A Taliban rebel pilot flew his MiG-21 jet fighter through waves of anti-aircraft fire Tuesday to land and surrender at an Afghanistaii airbase. The pilot, Abdul Jalil, flew from the rebel base in Kandahar to the government's Bagram airbase, about 20 miles north of the capital of Kabul. It was the first time a Taliban rebel pilot had deserted to the government. He said he "had been in contact with the government for about 10 months."

ATLANTA JOURNAL/CONSTITUTION 7/17

## 9 die when rockets hit Kabul school, market

■ KABL, Afghanistan: Rockets hit a high school and a market in the war-battered capital yesterday, killing at least nine people and wounding 25 others, hospital workers said.

The deadly barrage ended a period of relative calm in Kabul, which has been under siege for a year by Taliban rebels fighting to install an Islamic government in Afghanistan. The government blamed yesterday's attack on the Taliban.

The victims included a teacher and student, killed when a rocket slammed into a high school a few miles from the front line between government troops and the rebels. The others died when a rocket hit a crowded market.

Afghanistan has been torn by factional fighting since 1992, when guerrilla forces began fighting among themselves for control of the country after ousting a Soviet-imposed communist government.

## Asbury Park Press

6/24

# UN for neutral Afghan transitory mechanism

By Mariana Baabar

Islamabad: UN Secretary General's special envoy on Afghanistan, Dr. Norbert Holl, who succeeds Dr. Mehmed Mestiri, made it clear that he was "not over optimistic as I am a professional and have seen crises from which I have learnt my lessons. The Mestiri peace plan will be taken up but not in the same shape. We will want to formulate a neutral transitory mechanism."

Addressing a press conference on Thursday he, however, started off on an optimistic note saying he was no stranger to either Afghanistan or its leaders and there were a few developments at the moment which may indicate that something was going on in minds of the people who made the decisions.

The UN envoy who leaves for Jalalabad with his new team on Saturday put up a strong defence to prove that he was the right man for the job, by tracing his links with the Afghans since the eighties having visited Peshawar to meet with the leaders of the Afghan Interim Government and then travelling into Kabul to meet with the people there.

"When the UN Secretary General wrote to President Rabbani about my nomination his reply saying he was pleased with the choice came in 24 hours. Afghans cannot fool me as I know enough about them", he added.

"I have been meeting with the Afghans in Germany as they have put special trust in us. I had close personal contacts with Afghans inside and outside Kabul and met all the political leaders including the Taliban", he said. There are 60,000 Afghans living in Germany and Bonn was the only stop the Afghans made on their way to Washington for Senator Brown's conference where they met with Holl.

In a reference to the neighboring countries which have some kind of stakes in Afghanistan, the UN envoy expressed the view that "I have nothing against legitimate interests of countries as some of them have historic dimensions and all over the world states have interests in other states. But one has to know what these interests are and the only way to approach is to have a pragmatic approach."



Dr Holl has also met with ambassadors of the regional countries at the German Embassy. Later he proposes to travel to these countries where one of the issues will be the supply of arms into Afghanistan by these countries. "Arms embargo will be difficult to monitor. It might help but there might be difficulty in its implementation. Everyone understands it must be a fair solution", he explained.

NEWS - (Pakistan) 7/26

AFGHANISTAN



Taliban as this is no way to treat a peace emissary, by shooting at him. If you receive a guest in your house, you don't start spitting in his face."

The Islamic warriors, who have besieged Kabul for 10 months, Tuesday fired a volley of rockets which landed in the area of the city housing the German embassy, where Holl was staying.

Nobody was injured in the latest attack on the suburb near the presidential palace, which takes an almost daily battering from rockets and shells.

Holl said he would ask the Taliban to stop shelling the war-torn city, but added "whether they will do it or not, I do not know."

Holl, a German diplomat, who replaced United Nations secretary-general's last envoy Mahmoud Mestiri, avoided spelling out details of his peace mission, but said he would be making changes to Mestiri's plan.

However, Holl did reveal he would be speaking not only to political and military leaders here, but also seeking the views of other elements of society, including intellectuals, judges and women's groups.

He also said the United Nations would be coordinating its operations dealing with Afghanistan more closely and that his UN Special Mission to Afghanistan (UNSMIA) would remain based inside Afghanistan.

But he said his mission would not move back to battered Kabul from the peaceful eastern city of Jalalabad until its safety could be guaranteed.

"The general plan is that the mission should shift to Kabul," he said.

"It has to be done because Kabul is still the capital of Afghanistan and we consider this to be an important symbol."

## Holl flays Taliban after shell attack

KABUL (AFP) — The UN's new special envoy to Afghanistan on Wednesday accused Taliban of "spilling in his face" following the latest shell attack on the besieged Afghan capital.

The stinging criticism of the militants came after six shells struck Kabul during special ambassador Dr Norbert Holl's first visit here since taking up his post last month.

"Rocketing started here which I did not like at all because it demonstrates a sort of contempt for my mission," Holl told journalists at the end of his two-day trip to the capital.

"I will take it up with the

FRONTIER POST (Peshawar)

8/1

# Consultations with Iran vital: Holl

STAFF REPORT

ISLAMABAD, Aug 6: Iran has its vested interests in Afghanistan and it is important to consult Tehran before reaching a viable solution to the longstanding Afghan issue, Nobert Holl, head of the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan told journalists here Tuesday.

These vested interests, the UN envoy said, were legitimate in this situation like other countries who wanted to have their interests protected in Afghanistan.

Mr Nobert said that he had met Iranian Vice Foreign Minister during his visit to Kabul and they had discussed in detail on the Afghan issue. The UN Mission Chief said that it was essential to go to Tehran for further talks and he had plan to go there.

He said that he had also visited the Iranian Embassy in Kabul where he was scheduled to have a second meeting with the Iranian Minister. The meeting, however, could not take place as the Iranian Minister's meeting with Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani was going on.

"There must be an end to decade-long bloodshed in Afghanistan only then a peace process could take roots in the war-torn country", Nobert Holl said. Mr Nobert who returned from Afghanistan after holding talks with leaders of all factions, claimed that all the leaders of warring factions were looking for hope. "I am dreaming for breakthrough, too, but dreams are not materialised so easily", Mr Holl said.

He said that the United States and Russia had increased their interest in solving the Afghan issue and the visits of a number of American dignitaries to Pakistan and the appointment of a special emissary to Kabul by Moscow was a testimony to it.

According to PPI: Dr Nobert Holl said he would work for developing a "sense of compromise" among the Afghan leaders for establishment of a last-

ing peace in Afghanistan. "I believe that it is very hard to promote peace in the absence of a sense of compromise," he said.

Holl, who recently held a series of meetings with all the key Afghan leaders including President Burhanuddin Rabbani, Prime Minister Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, Commander Ahmad Shah Masud, General Abdur Rashid Dostum and Taliban Shoor, termed response of the Afghan leaders in initial rounds of consultations as positive.

He, however, said he did not present any new peace plan during his meetings with the Afghan leaders. "What I still have to discuss with the Afghans is that how should we proceed to achieve the desired results," Holl said.

He said he discussed with the Afghan leaders during the initial round of consultations a few issues including the latest developments in Kabul, Rabbani-Hekmatyar alliance and how stable it was.

He said he would hold dialogue not only with the political leaders but also with the people belonging to various "social groups" of Afghanistan.

The UN envoy said that the people were looking towards the special mission with a new hope adding that both the United States and Russia were taking keen interest in Afghanistan.

He said that the recent conference of the Afghans at Washington, organised by Senator Hank Brown was reflective of US increasing a renewed interest in Afghanistan.

Asked as to what kind of renewed interest the United States had in Afghanistan, Nobert Holl said "I have to doubt in my mind that America's interest in Afghanistan is constructive".

Replying to another question, he dispelled the impression that Taliban refused to participate in any talks till President Rabbani was in power. "I did not find any refusal on part of Taliban", he said and added that he had a good meeting with them.

THE MUSLIM (Pakistan) 8/7

FRONTIER POST (Pakistan) 8/7

# Taliban don't oppose peace mission: Holl

ISLAMABAD (AFP) — The new United Nations envoy to Afghanistan said here Tuesday after talks with Taliban leaders that the Islamic militia controlling half the war-torn country was not averse to dialogue with his mission.

"There was no refusal to hold dialogue," Norbert Holl told a news conference, a day after a five-hour session with Taliban leaders in their Kandahar base in southwestern Afghanistan.

"I had a good meeting," he said, adding that the militia leaders had received him in a "very hospitable way."

Holl, who last week criticised Taliban's rocket attack on Kabul, said he told his interlocutors that the "bloodshed must stop" and Afghans must find a stable political settlement to end the four-year civil war.

During his meeting with the Islamic student-led militia leaders, the UN envoy also sought the release of the seven-member crew of a Russian cargo plane detained in Kandahar.

The Taliban seized the Russians and their cargo plane carrying arms and ammunition to Kabul in August last year. The plane, belonging to a private Russian company, was forced to land while flying over Kandahar.

Holl did not say if discussions on their release were satisfactory.

"They gave a response but still I have to work on it," he said adding that the Russians' release from captivity would remain on the agenda of future talks with the Taliban.

The Taliban allowed him to meet with the Russian crew who were in "reasonable shape," he said.

Holl said the Russians are not in jail, but are kept in a small house and provided with a transistor radio set. Some of them were in a "good mood", while others complained that they had been detained "too long," Holl reported.

"There is a general feeling that the UN mission should continue" in the search for a political settlement to the factional fighting, he said.

The UN envoy, who took over the job last month, also visited Kabul and northern Mazar-i-Sharif for talks with Afghan leaders during his trip to Afghanistan.



## Pakistan agrees to consider re-opening of embassy in Kabul

ISLAMABAD (PPI) — Pakistan on Saturday agreed to consider favourably the Afghan proposal for the re-opening of its embassy in Kabul.

Pending the reconstruction of the embassy and temporary accommodation for the embassy staff, the Pakistani side would devise ways and means of maintaining contacts with authorities in Kabul, Foreign Office said.

The decision was taken at a meeting of Afghan delegation with the Pakistani authorities here at the Foreign Office Sunday.

The Pakistani side expressed readiness to facilitate transportation through its land of the items the Afghan government decided to import from the outside world, and decided, as a goodwill gesture, to meet the immediate requirements of the population of Kabul through the local market.

The Afghan interior minister Younas Qanooni led the Afghan side at the talks while Pakistani side was led by advisor to the prime minister on economic affairs V.A. Jaffery, and included representatives from the ministries of foreign affairs, commerce, petroleum and natural resources, food and agriculture, states and frontier region division, chief commissioner Afghan refugees and the Central Board of Revenue.

The talks focussed on the supply of food stuffs and petroleum

from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Pakistan accepted the Afghan request for the transportation of required items through its land.

During indepth discussions on political questions, the Pakistani side emphasised the interest in maintaining contacts with all the parties in Afghanistan and its determination to facilitate an intra-Afghan dialogue, enabling the Afghan factions to agree on a peaceful and durable solution to the lingering imbroglio.

The Afghan side briefed the Pakistan side on its proposals for the formation of a supreme council to which power could be transferred with the mandate to hold general elections for a Loya Jirga, (grand assembly). The Afghan delegation greatly appreciated Pakistan's indomitable stand during Afghan jihad and the continuing assistance to the 1.5 million Afghan refugees on its soil.

The Afghan side requested for Pakistan's continued cooperation in restoration of peace and stability in the war-ravaged Afghanistan. The two sides expressed the hope that the Afghan delegation's visit would prove to be a new phase in Pak-Afghan relations.

Earlier, Qanooni while responding to newsmen's questions on his arrival at the Islamabad airport said that the delegation had come here with a goodwill gesture and also with deepest regard for the

people of Pakistan. "We intend to restore good relations with Pakistan," he vowed.

The visiting Afghan team comprises finance minister Younus Qanooni, deputy foreign minister Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai, deputy commerce minister Abdur Rehman and special envoy of the Afghan prime minister in Pakistan, Dr. Ghairat Baheer.

Members of the delegation were due to call on President Farooq Leghari and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto later in the day. They will leave for Lahore Monday to meet foreign minister Sardar Asf Ali Ahmad Ali there.

"The visit of high-powered Afghan delegation will help remove misunderstandings between Pakistan and Afghanistan" Dr. Ghairat said.

Ghairat said that the government in Kabul wished improvement in relations with Pakistan, adding that friendly bonds between the two countries were in the interests of both.

This is the first high-level visit by an Afghan delegation after assumption of office by Prime Minister Engineer Hekmatyar.

Also present at the airport to receive the delegation were foreign secretary Najmuddin A. Sheikh, secretary interior Ilyas Mohsin, Afghan charge d'affaires General Mehrabuddin and other officials.

FRONTIER POST (Peshawar) 8/11

## Rabbani calls on UN envoy to move to Kabul

FRONTIER POST 8/9

KABUL (AFP) — Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani has called on the United Nations' special envoy to Afghanistan to move his offices to the besieged capital Kabul, state-run radio said Thursday.

"Special Ambassador Norbert Holl should move into Kabul for the effectiveness of his mission," Rabbani was quoted as saying by Kabul Radio.

Holl, who took over the job as the UN secretary-general's special envoy to Afghanistan last month, is currently based in the largely peaceful eastern Afghan city of Jalalabad.

He is coming under increasing pressure from Kabul's newly formed coalition government

as well as from the citizens of this battered city — to set up base here for the first time.

The mission, newly rechristened as the United Nations Special Mission for Afghanistan (UNSMIA), was until earlier this year based in the Pakistani capital Islamabad for security reasons and has only shifted as far as Jalalabad.

Holl said during his first visit here last week as UN ambassador that the world body wanted to transfer UNSMA to Kabul but the almost daily rocket and shell attacks on the city made the move impossible for the moment.

"It's obvious that the security situation must change a little here before we can move to Kabul," he

told journalists here.

Analysts here have said the move to the capital could give UNSMA a vital boost after years of criticism that it was not taking serious steps to achieve peace in Afghanistan.

"The special mission became a figure of derision" among both the Afghan people and factional leaders because of its apparent failure to come up with and implement a firm plan and also because of the perceived distance it maintained from the power bases, one said.

Rabbani's latest call for Holl to move UN operations here is expected to keep the issue on the envoy's agenda in talks with the government, he added.

# Taliban's new demand for the release of Russians

From Behroz Khan

PESHAWAR: The negotiations for the release of seven-member crew of Tatar Airlines from the custody of Taliban took a new turn Tuesday with the demand to include former Afghan minister in ascertaining the whereabouts of the missing Afghans since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

"We told the Russian foreign office delegation to arrange a meeting with the former Afghan defence minister, Aslam Watanjar, either in Moscow or Islamabad. Watanjar can provide us details about the missing Afghans — Muhammad Ibrahim Mujaddadi and Muhammad Ismail Mujaddadi," informed Ahmad Amin Mujaddadi at the end of a two-hour meeting with the Russian delegation in Islamabad. The Taliban Islamic Movement has nominated Ahmad Amin Mujaddadi for negotiations.

The delegation headed by Russia's special envoy Alexander Obolov will stay in Pakistan for the next three to four days to persuade Taliban for the release of the crew of the plane which was force landed at

Qandahar 10 months back. The plane was carrying weapons and ammunition for Kabul government which was purchased from Albania.

Amin Mujaddadi said like the past the Russian delegation once again expressed ignorance about the fate of the missing members of his family believed to be held prisoners in Russia. "Watanjar arrested these people in Kabul along with me and even women of my family in a night raid in 1979," claimed Amin Mujaddadi who was released from Pul-i-Charkhi jail during the regime of Hafizullah Amin. "Russia is in full knowledge of the influence of the family. We also pay respect to its members," Amin Mujaddadi quoted Obolov as saying.

He said, the other Mujaddadis, shifted to Russia, were still languishing in a prison what he called the Caspian Jail. Amin Mujaddadi said the spiritual leader of the family, Ibrahim Mujaddadi, wrote four letters to him from jail with his own signature to inform about his whereabouts. "They are alive," Amin claimed while majority of the Afghans believed they were killed in-

side a jail in Kabul.

The delegation, Amin Mujaddadi said, has agreed to contact Aslam Watanjar who took asylum in Moscow after the fall of Dr Najibullah's government in 1992. The Russians have not been able to convince Taliban for the release of the crew despite sending several delegations to Kandahar.

The Russian envoy, Amin Mujaddadi said, also discussed the future setting of Afghanistan and was keen to know about Taliban's point of view and sought proposals to overcome the ongoing crisis in the war-ravaged country. "Our proposal to restore peace in Afghanistan was to ask President Burhanuddin Rabbani to step down," said Amin Mujaddadi. He said it was also conveyed to Russia that without meeting this condition, the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan was a distant reality.

The Taliban had earlier handed over a list of 30,000 plus Afghans which they believed had been imprisoned in former Soviet Union's prisons since the communists took over power in 1978.

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/4

## Russian air crew takes captors in escape from

By ANWAR FARUQI

Associated Press

DUBAI, United Arab Emirates — A seven-man Russian air crew, held by rebels in Afghanistan for a year, escaped in their own plane to the United Arab Emirates.

Officials said they brought three of their former captors with them.

The crew escaped Friday under the pretense of carrying out regular maintenance work on their IL-76 cargo plane in the southern Afghan town of Kandahar.

Once on the plane, the crew overpowered three guards from Afghanistan's Taliban movement, a hard-line Islamic guerrilla group that had been holding them hostage since last August, said an official from Trans Avia, the U.A.E.-based company that had leased the cargo plane.

The official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the Russian crew had been questioned and released by police in the U.A.E., while the three Taliban guards remained in custody.

The fate of the guerrillas was not immediately clear.

The Russian crew will be taken home aboard a special flight from Russia due to arrive today in the emirate of Sharjah, near Dubai, Russia's ITAR-Tass news agency reported.

It said Russia's deputy prime minister, Vitaly Ignatenko, and a team of medics would be aboard the flight.

At the time of their capture, the pilots were working for Aerostan, an airline based in the Russian republic of Tatarstan. The plane was on lease to Trans Avia.

Russian officials had conducted unsuccessful negotiations in a bid to win the release of the crew members from the Taliban, which is battling the Afghan government forces in the capital of Kabul.

The Taliban forced the plane to land, saying it was headed for Kabul and was carrying ammunition destined for Afghan government forces.

The plane was chartered by the Afghan government.

The rebel movement held the seven men in the isolated town of Kandahar, a Taliban stronghold.

When U.S. Sen. Hank Brown of Colorado met

## Afghanistan

San Francisco  
VALLEY TIMES

8/18

last week with the Taliban they said they would keep the Russian crew until Afghans being held in Russia were released.

#### HOSPITAL

Eight years old, this boy suffered terrible injuries from a land mine.

His mother comforts him

#### BOULEVARD

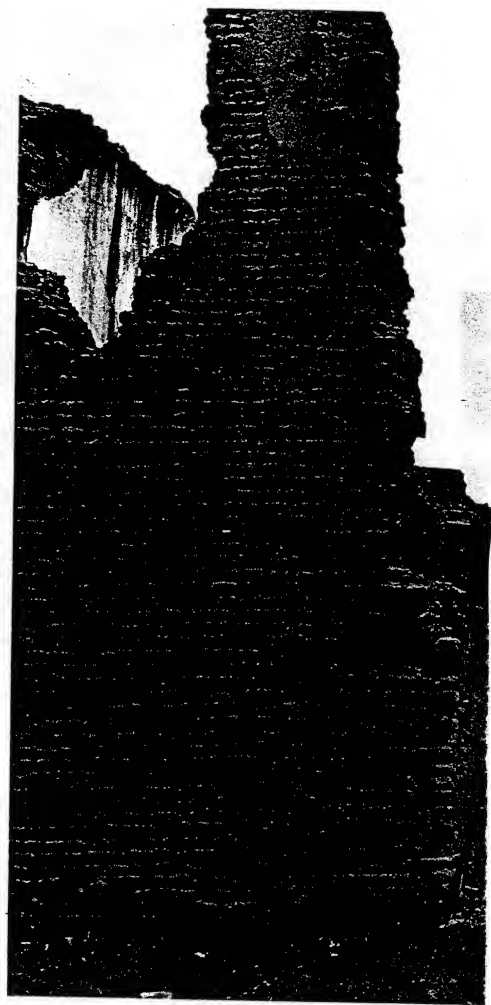
The street Jada-i-Maiwand was once crowded with cars, stores, restaurants and movie houses



# DEATH OF A CITY

**T**HE PICTURES ON THESE PAGES SHOW A CITY BEING GROUND TO DUST. This is Kabul today, and no city has suffered more destruction in the '90s than the capital of Afghanistan. Along with the demise of the cold war, the departure of the Soviets in 1989 ended much of the interest of the U.S. and other outsiders. Shortly afterward, vicious, sustained civil war broke out. In the years since, five different armies have fought in Kabul's streets, battling from house to house, killing 45,000 in one six-month period. Jahannam, says the Koran, is a hellish place of "harrowing torment" where people are kept in "heavy fetters and a blazing fire." This is punishment for sinners in the afterlife; such a horror is not known on earth. Kabul must surely be close.

Everywhere soldiers have seeded the ground with land mines,



the most in any city in the world, according to the U.N. Mohammed Ibrahim Warsag, Kabul's mayor, ticks off a list of further devastation. "Electricity system: destroyed. Water-supply system: destroyed. Public-transportation system: destroyed. Communications: destroyed. Sanitation system: destroyed. Roads torn up by tanks. And half a million people cannot get sufficient bread."

After the Soviets left, the Islamic fighters who opposed them—the *mujahedin*—separated into factions that turned on one another and the government. Last year a new group began knocking at the city's gates: the Taliban, an army of self-styled "students" of Islamic fundamentalism. Having repeatedly failed to take the capital, 8,000 Taliban are now camped on the high ground south, hurling rockets into the city. They announce themselves with the



sound of a jet; a second of silence follows, then an explosion makes the earth tremble. It is not unusual for 15 to land in a day; some days see as many as 70.

As the rockets churn houses into rubble, families seek shelter in the ruins of abandoned neighborhoods, many of which contain minefields. Children are especially vulnerable, since they are sent to scavenge. Farhad, a boy of 10, offers a typical story. "Early in the morning, after studying in the mosque, I went for firewood. Because we are poor, we can't buy wood. I didn't know there are minefields. When I opened my eyes, I was in the hospital without my legs." The simplest impulse is perilous. Rahmat Khan, a school watchman, describes how a breeze blew his hat across a playground. He chased it, tripped a mine and lost both legs.

None of this is likely to end anytime soon. Professional peacemakers such as the U.N.'s put scant effort into ratcheting down the war; it is perceived as too complicated, too Islamic, too out of the way. The vacuum allows regional powers—Pakistan, Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and India—to back one side or another, prolonging the conflict as they seek to extend their influence. Such meddling infuriates Afghans, but some reserve a special anger for America. They believe the U.S. has turned its back on the country it once supported, indifferent to its suffering. "Those friends who armed us to the teeth didn't think what will happen in the future," says Zekria Bakhshi, a physician with the Red Cross. "Because the cold war was finished, they said, 'Let them kill each other.'" —By Dick Thompson/

Kabul, with reporting by Gerald Bourke/Islamabad

# Kabul fears return of warfare

By Kathy Gannon  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

KABUL, Afghanistan — Abdul Haidi stoops to pull weeds from his garden, a gentle breeze rustling neatly planted rows of peas. The sweet smells of his bright red and yellow roses fill the air.

The garden offers escape, however brief, from the horrors of Afghanistan's civil war. The small patch of beauty in a landscape of devastation gives him hope.

"Right now I just want peace," Mr. Haidi says.

President Burhanuddin Rabbani says he has started the country in that direction by reaching a political accommodation with his old foe, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

The people of Mr. Haidi's neighborhood and other parts of ravaged Kabul hope so, but they are leery. Soot blackens the outside of Mr. Haidi's apartment building and giant holes gape in the walls — damage from relentless attacks on Kabul by the Hezb-e-Islami fighters led by Mr. Hekmatyar.

Forces loyal to Mr. Rabbani and Mr. Hekmatyar began fighting over Kabul soon after loosely allied Islamic movements ousted a Marxist government in early 1992 and then turned on each other in a struggle for power.

But today, Mr. Hekmatyar is no longer the enemy. He and Mr. Rabbani reached an agreement in mid-May that reinstated Mr. Hekmatyar as prime minister and kept the presidency for Mr. Rabbani's faction, the Jamiat-e-Islami.

The government says it hopes the accord will be an example to other factions to find a solution through negotiations rather than fighting.

The main threat to Kabul now is the Taleban, a movement started by Islamic religious students whose troops are arrayed in the hills south of the city.

And despite the peace accord, many people in Kabul are troubled by the sight of newly arrived Hezb-e-Islami soldiers wandering the streets. The government says about 1,200 Hezb-e-Islami men are in the capital.

At restaurants people step aside when they walk in, always heavily armed. On the roads they rule in their four-wheel-drive vehicles.

"The weapons are a problem that we would like to deal with," said Amrullah, a government spokesman who like many Af-



A man peers out of a rocket-damaged apartment building in the Kabul suburb of Microrayon in early June. The building was on the front line of fighting between the Afghan government and Hezb-e-Islami rebels.

ghans uses only one name.

The new Hezb-e-Islami headquarters is right in the middle of the city. Dozens of soldiers with grenade launchers and machine guns sit on the sidewalk outside the 10-foot steel gate. It's not clear whether they are guards or simply waiting until they are called upon to fight at the front.

On street corners, often in areas heavily damaged by Hezb-e-Islami shelling, Mr. Hekmatyar's men now sit alongside government soldiers sipping green tea and laughing.

Sitting cross-legged on a straw mat, Abdul Mohammed, a Hezb-e-Islami soldier, gestures toward the devastated buildings in Kabul's old money market, known as Jeday Maiwan.

"Hezb-e-Islami did all this," he concedes, adding: "It is the leaders who are responsible. Now they are talking and that is good."

Healing the wounds will not be easy.

In Microrayon, where Mr. Haidi's tiny garden is in full bloom, many people are fearful about the presence of Hezb-e-Islami fighters. They have terrible

memories of the fighting between Mr. Hekmatyar and Mr. Rabbani, when their homes were on the front line.

From the hills behind Microrayon, Hezb-e-Islami rockets rained down on the dozens of apartment buildings that make up the suburb.

Twisted metal balconies still hang down the sides of the buildings. Inside the ravaged structures, three and four families live in one room. Apartments are missing walls.

During 1994 and 1995 — the peak of the battle between Mr. Hekmatyar and the government — 25,000 people died in Kabul, most of them civilians and many of those children, humanitarian workers estimate. In Microrayon alone, hundreds of people were killed.

At least 750,000 people have fled the city and most who have stayed behind are either government personnel or do not have the money to leave.

Angela, a pretty 11-year-old in a silky purple shirt and pants, limps toward Mr. Haidi's garden, her left foot dragging behind.

Shyly she lifts her pant leg to reveal an ankle barely 2 inches around and a foot that is a swollen, scarred stump.

"A rocket landed on my house," she says. "My brother died and my foot was hurt."

For Angela, like many people in Microrayon, the fear of renewed fighting is always near.

"I don't know why, but I am very afraid of more fighting," she says.

WASHINGTON TIMES 6/27

# 8.5m square miles mined area cleared in Afghanistan

NATION (Pakistan) 8/4

ISLAMABAD (PPI) — Around 8.5 million square metres mined area and 11.3 million square metres battle field cleared of mines and unexploded ordnance (UXO) in Afghanistan in the last six months (January-June), Director of the Mine Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA) said on Saturday.

A total of 55098 mines and UXO devices had been destroyed during the mines clearance operation in the period, director MCPA Sayed Aqa told PPI.

He informed that around 6.5 million square metres mined area and battle field had been cleared of mines and unexploded devices, while a total of 21577 mines and UXO destroyed only in the month of June.

To a question the MCPA director said that more than 88.5 million square metres area had been cleared of mines and UXO since the launching of demining operation from 1990 upto date. During this period a total of 338064 devices (mines and UXO) were destroyed.

He said the MCPA has surveyed around 141.9 million square metres of mined area and 54.7 million square metres of battle field in the last five years. To another question, Sayed Aqa said the MCPA is also organising

training and mass awareness programmes for civilians and has so far trained 2.6 million people on demining process in Afghanistan.

Besides in other cities landmines are one of the major obstacles in the resumption of normal life in Kabul and the return of internal displaced persons to the Afghan capital and its suburbs.

Kabul is one of the most mine-affected cities in the war-torn Afghanistan and according to a survey conducted by the Mine Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA), a total of 22 million square metres area was reported to be laid with mines.

During more than a decade of war, almost all the sides involved in the Afghan conflict used landmines. Most of the anti-personnel mines were used by the Soviet troops and the regime forces for the protection of their military bases and for land denial purposes. Majority of anti-tank mines were laid by the Mujahideen to check or disrupt movement of the enemy tanks and personnel carriers.

"Non availability of minefield maps and other records from those who have laid the mines makes the task of minefield survey more challenging", said Director of MCPA.

A total of 11 million square metres has been estimated as High Priority Area (HPA) across the capital city and 3.5 million sqm have been cleared since April 1995 upto date while the remaining 7.5 million sqm are yet to be cleared.

High Priority Areas include agricultural land, roads, villages, canals, grazing lands, irrigation systems, areas where a large number of newly returning refugees are concentrating and are frequently affected by mines.

The MCPA spends 25 to 30 per cent resources on mine clearance programme only in Kabul city, said Sayed Aqa. He said around 800 workers of the MCPA were busy in demining programme in the capital and its adjoining areas.

To a question Sayed Aqa said about 8000 mines and explosive devices had been detected and destroyed in the capital since April 1995 till May 1996. Two more years will be needed to clear the remaining mines in Kabul city and its suburbs, he added.

About the expenditure on the mine clearance programme, he said 3.5 million dollars have so far been spent on the programme in Kabul while 7.5 million dollars will be spent to clear the remaining mines.

## U.N.: 100 million mines pose postwar hazards

By Betsy Pisik  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — More than 100 million land mines and unexploded armaments lurk in the fields and beneath the rubble in scores of war-torn countries, hampering peacekeeping and repatriation activities, according to U.N. officials.

One of the most dangerous places for peacekeepers and civilians is Afghanistan, they say, estimating one explosive charge in 10 is likely to be found there.

Ravaged by a decade of Soviet occupation and then six years of fighting between mujahideen factions, Afghanistan is a nightmare of nastiness for international peacekeepers and residents alike. Officials are particularly concerned about children, who frequently trip mines while harvesting firewood in the forests.

More than 2,700 square miles of Afghanistan were swept for mines between 1990 and 1994, according to a U.N. report, yielding more than 158,200 explosive devices.

These land mines can be as small as a child's hand and as deadly as a car bomb. Evolving technology has made them harder to detect and cheaper to manufacture. According to the United Nations, mines can cost as little as \$3 to make and as much as \$1,000 each to remove.

"These mines, remaining deadly and active long after conflicts cease, kill or maim an estimated 500 people, mostly innocent civilians, per week," said Karl F. Inderfurth, who is representing the United States in the ongoing U.N. investigation into the land-mine situation.

**The Washington Times**

AUGUST 17, 1996

NEWS (Pakistan) 7/29

### Wounded Afghans shifted to hospitals

WANA: A number of wounded Afghans have been shifted to hospitals in South Waziristan following bloody clashes that erupted in Wargeen area of Afghanistan between rival factions last week.

Reports reaching from across the border suggest that fighting was still continuing between forces loyal to Hezb-i-Islami led by Afghan prime minister Gulbaddin Hikmatyar and Taliban Islamic Movement. So far 12 people belonged to Kharoti tribe which supports Hikmatyar have been killed. It has also been learnt that Taliban arrested more than 20 Hezb-i-Islami fighters under commander Khalid who were shifted to an unknown destination.



# U.N. Is Pressed to Name a Woman to an Afghan Peace Mission

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 13 — Rukhsana Sarwar, a professor of English at Kabul University in Afghanistan, had survived coups and a Soviet invasion. Then, in 1992, she had to flee fighting among Afghan factions that left her neighborhood in ruins and the fate of the women of Afghanistan in the hands of Islamic militants determined to deny them a place in civic life.

Ms. Sarwar, now working on education projects for refugee women and children in Pakistan, came to New York this week with other Afghan women to ask the United Nations to name a woman to a special mission being assembled by Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to look for ways to help Afghanistan find peace and begin reconstruction.

The Islamic guerrillas who defeated the Soviet Army and its Afghan allies have been fighting among themselves since capturing the capital, Kabul, in 1992. Battles erupted again this week and the important city of Jalalabad fell to a conservative Islamic movement, the Taliban. Jalalabad is a center of United Nations operations.

The Taliban movement is not

alone in denying women rights, as it imposes what it views as a rigorous form of Islam. The Afghan Government, a coalition of formerly warring parties, has told the United Nations not to send any women to Afghanistan in international delegations or as officials, which has led some women in the United Nations system to urge that Kabul be put on notice that assistance could be withdrawn if discrimination continues.

Afghan women are now a majority of the adult population of Afghanistan, said Ms. Sarwar, whose husband, a professor of political science, was killed after he returned to Kabul in 1993 to try to help bring about a political solution. Without the involvement of women in rebuilding the country, she said, there will never be peace.

"Afghan women and children have been sacrificed to this bloody war fought because of the selfishness of warlords," she said in an interview before a meeting with officials of Unicef, which last year announced it would stop programs in Afghanistan that discriminated against girls.

On Monday they will meet Assistant Secretary General Rosario Green, who is in charge of encouraging and monitoring women's partici-

pation in United Nations activities. The Afghan women's trip was paid for with grants from international relief organizations.

Ms. Sarwar, who works in Pakistan for Save the Children U.S.A., is part of a new organization, the Afghan Women's Network, which had its origins at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing a year ago. After the Afghan Government vetoed plans to send an official delegation to the conference, a group of women went without official backing to take part in a nongovernmental forum held at the same time.

The women were among many from Islamic nations who say they were galvanized by the conference into organizing groups, however small, to press for women's rights across North Africa, the Middle East and West Asia. In Beijing they met Muslim women from the more liberal Islamic nations of South and Southeast Asia.

The emergence of Muslim women's groups over the last year was one topic discussed this week as women from around the world met here to assess progress made since the Beijing conference.

"The Beijing conference created a passion, a boldness, that I have not seen in 20 years of working with the

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
SEPTEMBER 15, 1996

U.N.," said Bella Abzug, the former New York Congresswoman who is president of the Women's Environment and Development Organization and helped start it in 1990.

## LIGHT RETURNS TO KABUL

AFTER two years, electricity returned to some parts of the city of Kabul on March 16.

The power that illuminate some parts of the city, is produced in Mahipar hydro-electric plant, 22 kilometers east of Kabul. At the moment, the plant is producing power for 12 hours each day.

Electric power to the Afghan capital was cut on January 1, 1994 when Dostum and Hikmatyar launched a joint attack to topple the government of President Rabbani.

Two other power plants, which are located in Saroubi, produced most power needed in Kabul. These plants are under control of Hezb Islami of

Hikmatyar. Hezb has agreed to allow the flow of electricity to Kabul but the transmission lines need major repair before power from these plants could reach Kabul.

Technicians of the ministry of Water and Power work day and night to repairs the transmission lines within the city. Even in those areas of Kabul, which were not effected by the war, transmission lines and step down transformers need major overhaul.

To the surprise of the officials of the Ministry of Water and Power, most of the step-down transformers within the city were found emptied from special oil that keeps them cool. A lot of money is need to bring coolant agent for these transformers from abroad.

It is interesting that like the stolen transmission lines, the stolen oil from transformers was also sold in Pakistan.

Iran has promised to send a technical team to help Afghan engineers to rebuild the power distribution system in the capital. ■

Correction NYT 9/22:

An article last Sunday about a delegation of Afghan women visiting the United Nations misidentified the late husband of one of them, Rukhsana Sarwar. He was a professor of electrical engineering, not a political scientist, and played no part in politics.

TELEPHONE ACCESS FOR TALIBAN  
(from the Afghan Listserver - we cannot guarantee its validity. Ed.)

Lahore Exchange: 042-669087  
(Dari spoken)

Quetta Exchange: 081-822422  
(Pushtu spoken)

The same source reports a Pakistani Gov't installed phone line between Pakistan & Mazar-i-Sharif (& Gen.

AFGHANews

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Dostum) as part of a Pakistani effort to lay an infrastructure in parts of Afghanistan.



## RECENT HAPPENINGS AT THE KABUL MUSEUM

by Nancy Hatch Dupree for the AFGHANI-  
STAN FORUM and AFGHANISTAN NYTT, August, 1966.

When I last wrote about the looted Kabul Museum, the Afghan Gov't had for the first time declared its intention to assume responsibility for the protection of what remained of the museum's collection. They estimated then, in April 1995, that 70% was gone, but the stores were in such chaos that it was impossible to say precisely what was missing.

The Gov't established a 25-member Commission for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage. SPACH, the Islamabad-based Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage, together with UN agencies, including HABITAT, contributed their support by providing heavy steel doors and blocking windows. In June 1995, the first UNESCO-sponsored mission to the Kabul Museum made plans with SPACH for the preparation of an inventory; but in September these plans were aborted because insecurity escalated throughout the nation.

In October, peace around Kabul was shattered by the reappearance of the Taliban on its southern outskirts. Rockets peppered the museum garden and, because the museum once again sat at the center of the battleground, looting continued. The seated Buddha featured in my April chronicle disappeared. The Gov't's final decision to shift the museum to the center of Kabul dates from this period. In early 1996 the Kabul Hotel was selected as the site, but as I write now in August the shift is far from complete.

It took some time to convince the management of the Kabul Hotel to set aside space for museum offices and stores. Their concerns must now be doubled for the spacious arches of the main dining room on the 1st floor have been filled with brick to form storerooms secured by the steel doors originally installed at the Darulaman building in 1994. Hopefully it will be possible to restore the beautiful pink marble flooring once peace returns and the museum finds a permanent home. The cavernous vaulted basement will also be utilized.

The dispiriting chore of packing objects at the museum is being carried out by a dedicated staff periodically shaken by incoming rockets and the ominous thunder of outgoing artillery. It is not only hazardous, it is also hard to maintain any semblance of morale in the gloom and dust as the full extent of loss becomes starkly apparent.

Recollections of my visit in July are like a fantasy. One enters now on the south. From this doorway the long, high-vaulted hallway stretches endlessly into the darkness and in the only pool of light at the foot of a few steps inside the door eight men in unbleached cotton dusters hover over a table like surgeons in an army field hospital. One measures and describes, one records, two package, two arrange packages in tin boxes, while two observers from the Commission "witness" the process to make sure no piece goes astray. Off to the left at the entrance to an alcove the photographer works in his makeshift studio on a rickety wooden trestle set against a black cloth tacked to the wall. All rise like wraiths from the hanging curtain of dust.



# Fragile Scrolls Cast New Light on Early

## Buddhism

THE NEW YORK TIMES

SUNDAY, JULY 7, 1996

By JOHN DARNTON

LONDON, July 6 — For 18 months, scholars at the British Library have been poring over 13 scrolls of birch bark that were found rolled up inside clay pots, convinced they were looking at ancient manuscripts.

They carefully unrolled the fragile scrolls by moistening them overnight in a bell jar and then using tweezers to flatten them out and place them under glass. Then began the painstaking work of trying to figure out the language and script and comparing fragments with known texts to unlock their mystery.

"It was like putting together a jigsaw puzzle when the edges of the pieces have been gnawed away by mice," said Graham Shaw, deputy director of Oriental and India Office Collections at the library. "We had no idea of the contents. Because they were written so neatly we suspected they were religious scripts, but that was all."

Now the work has paid off. The library is the proud possessor of what are believed to be the oldest Buddhist manuscripts ever discovered, fragments of perhaps 20 different texts dating from the end of the first century A.D. or the beginning of the second century.

Scholars believe that the manuscripts — purchased for a "five figure sum" by an anonymous donor, who presented them, through an anonymous dealer, as a gift — may prove invaluable in shedding light on early Buddhism and the spread of the religion along the silk route from current-day India into China and throughout Asia.

"The importance of these new manuscripts for the study of Buddhism is potentially comparable to that of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Judaism and early Christianity," said Richard Salomon, a professor of Sanskrit at the University of Washington in Seattle, who was able to decipher and roughly date them.

"These are the oldest substantial body of manuscripts," he said. "There are a few bits and pieces elsewhere that are approximately comparable, but this is the first time we get a big chunk."

"It will clarify and expand the understanding of early Buddhism but I do not expect it to undermine or change it in any fundamental way. It will show us a lot about a particular form of early Buddhism that we didn't know about before."

"There is a theory kicked around among scholars that some of the early Chinese Buddhist texts were translated from this Gandhari lan-

guage rather than Sanskrit. I'm hoping these may substantiate that theory, though I haven't yet found the smoking gun."

Mr. Salomon was brought in on the case because he is an expert in Gandhari, the dialect spoken in the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Gandhara, which includes modern-day eastern Afghanistan and a portion of northern Pakistan. The script the scrolls were written in is Kharosthi, and the number of people proficient in it, observed Mr. Shaw, can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Mr. Salomon's dating is based partly on a reference in one text to a local king, or satrap, called Jihonika, who is known from coins and other inscriptions to have ruled in Gandhara in the first half of the first century A.D. Inscriptions on the clay pots referring to other historical figures also support the dating.

"The whole provenance is unclear," Professor Salomon said. "It's rumored to be eastern Afghanistan. I think that's likely to be true."

Buddhism is derived from the religious philosopher and teacher who died in about 480 B.C. His teachings were memorized by his disciples and transmitted orally from generation to generation, being written down only in the first century B.C.

"There was a gradual transition to a written tradition," noted Mr. Shaw. "As we get closer to Buddha's own time, we are closer to the transition and closer to the oral tradition. The early texts may also tell us something about the nature of the transition of Buddhism to Central Asia and then to China."

The Oriental and India Office Collections deputy director noted that there was one other large manuscript in the language of Gandhari, a poem called "Dharmapada," or "Steps to the Dharma," discovered about 100 years ago in Central Asia.

"It was divided into three pieces," Mr. Shaw said. "One went to the French, one to the Russians, and a third disappeared. In the 1960's an English scholar published an edition of this work and speculated that the text proved there was an earlier Buddhist canon in Gandhari. So his hypothesis is vindicated."

Unrolling the scrolls, Mr. Shaw said, was a delicate task.

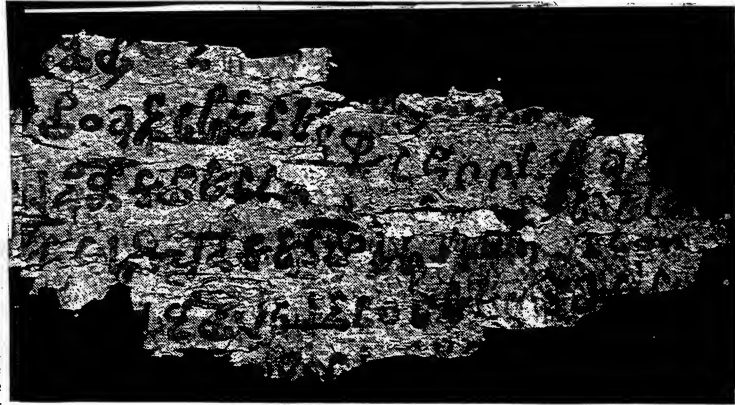
"When the material first reached us, it looked like a set of badly rolled cigars that somebody had sat on," he said. "Birch bark is a thin, fragile material — probably the most fragile that man has ever used for writing."

"Our conservators are highly skilled. Amazingly, they were able to unroll them. It was old-fashioned patience, care, a good eye and a steady pair of hands."

There is still much controversy, Mr. Salomon noted, over the question of the original language of Buddha's teachings. Some believe the language was Magadhi and others Pali, in which early writings appeared. "It's possible — though preliminary — that by comparing these Gandhari to Pali, we'll get something close to the underlying language," he said.

The fragments range from sermons to treatises to poems. The scholar provided an example of a verse from a poem called "The Rhi-

noceros Horn": "People keep you company and serve you for a motive; real friends are hard to find these days. People are insincere, clever in pursuing their own ends, wander alone like the rhinoceros."



Scholars believe that 13 birch bark scrolls at the British Library in London date from the first or second century A.D. and are the oldest known Buddhist writings. A fragment shows the Kharosthi script.

PRESS ASSOCIATION

# Afghanis suffer psychological effects of war

By Kathy Gannon  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

KABUL, Afghanistan — The scene plays itself out again and again inside Shah Mohammed's head, a horrible image of war and death.

Afghanistan's Islamic fighters are dueling with rockets. Bullets whistle past his head. A rocket hits nearby. Shrapnel peppers the ground. Dust and dirt fly into his face. He bolts.

Then comes his father's scream, a tortured cry of pain.

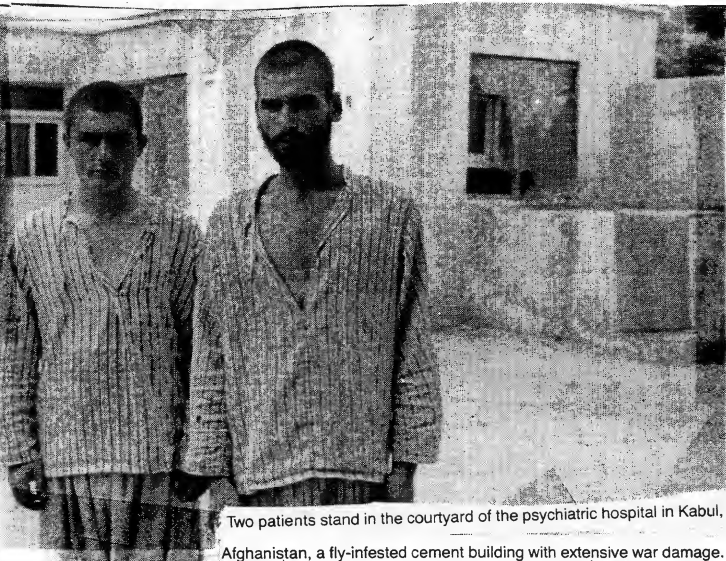
"My father, I don't remember," Mohammed cries out to the doctor. "I heard a scream. He's dead. I can't find him. I want to go home." Mohammed trips over his words, rushing headlong once more into a mental abyss overflowing with terrible memories.

The doctor, in a soothing voice, struggles to pull him back to reality. But reality is only a little better than the memories.

Mohammed's battle fatigue is a common problem in Afghanistan, which has been battered by war since Soviet soldiers invaded in December 1979 in a failed attempt to prop up a communist regime. After four years of fighting among the rebels who ousted the Marxists, huge swaths of Kabul are rubble, at least 25,000 people are dead and nearly 1 million are living as refugees.

Islamic factions fought for 13 years to overthrow the Marxist regime and succeeded in April 1992. Then they began battling among themselves. Part of the toll has been a wave of mental trauma that afflicts combatants and civilians alike.

Kabul's only psychiatric hospital is itself a victim of war: a fly-infested cement building with gaping wounds inflicted by rockets, mortar shells and machine-gun fire from rival factions fighting for control of the capital.



Two patients stand in the courtyard of the psychiatric hospital in Kabul, Afghanistan, a fly-infested cement building with extensive war damage.

The white paint long since has turned gray. A filthy, green sign — Kabul Mental Hospital — hangs limply above a rotting wooden door. Outside, an armed guard eyes visitors suspiciously. Inside, he pokes at patients with a 12-inch stick to keep them away from the door.

Their resistance is halfhearted. Several are asleep on the cement floor of an open courtyard swaddled in black wool blankets, oblivious to the sweltering summer sun.

Their beds are severe steel cots. The only comfort are 2-inch foam mattresses. No sheets, only blankets — all of them wool and all of them covered with flies.

Several flies have attached themselves to a festering wound on Mohammed's ear.

As the doctor cajoles Mohammed, listening to his memories, trying to understand his pain, another patient, on a nearby cot, peeks out from beneath his blanket.

He listens for a minute, then he whispers, barely audible: "Everybody has fighting problems."

Then he is gone, the blanket pulled back up over his head. Abdul Majid, another battle-fatigued fighter, can't be per-

suaded to say more.

Mohammed, after much coaxing, can't be stopped.

"I'm OK. I want to go home. I was sick, but not anymore. I'm OK now," Mohammed says, becoming more insistent, his voice getting louder. Doctors move quickly to pacify him.

For several years, Mohammed lived in the hills around Kabul, firing rockets at the city below. He was a soldier in the movement led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

This spring, Mr. Hekmatyar gave up the fight after virtually destroying the city. He signed an agreement with his old enemy, President Burhanuddin Rabbani, and today is Afghanistan's prime minister, a new ally in the war with still other Islamic factions.

But for Mohammed, the fight isn't over.

"Sometimes, he seems to understand and then he says he is ready to fight," says Dr. Shareen Shahwazik.

Dr. Shahwazik says one of the most worrisome victims of 17 years of war is the mental health of Afghanistan.

"Most of the problem is depression," he says in broken English and speaking through an interpreter. "It's the war. It has

WASHINGTON TIMES

8/17

ily members in the war.  
Dr. Shahwazik says many patients are violent when they first arrive.  
"They beat themselves... they want to kill themselves. They all try to kill themselves," he says.

made people crazy. Everyone has lost family members."  
In the small, locked women's ward, patients mumble to themselves, hug each other, grasp strangers. They have all lost fam-



A Basir Wasiqi of Afghanistan finishing the marathon in 4 hours 24 minutes 17 seconds

Paula Giannini/The New York Times

### Is he still running?

No last-place finisher in a marathon ever has been greeted more royally. And no one likely has finished quite so last.

The band played a fanfare as Basir Wasiqi of Afghanistan entered Olympic Stadium nearly 4½ hours after he began the event Sunday morning.

He finished 111th out of 111 who completed the race. No. 110 was about 1½ hours ahead of him.

"He walked quite a bit of the way, but he did jog across the finish line," said Jennifer Jordan, communications coordinator for the marathon venue.

The stadium was closed long before Wasiqi finished as crews prepared for Sunday night's closing ceremony. But the marathon volunteers were adamant that Wasiqi would get to finish in the stadium.

It's what the Olympic spirit is all about, Jordan said.

Stadium officials agreed to let Wasiqi in.

"They had rolled some matting on the tunnel and they had to pull that up," Jordan said, "and there

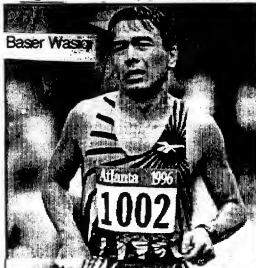
was a tarp that had been laid over the track and that had to be pulled up."

One of the sector coordinators ran to the band, which was practicing for the closing ceremony, and asked them to play something.

Two other workers ripped some tape off the finish line and held it so Wasiqi could break it as it ran through.

"It was one of the neatest experiences we've had," Jordan said, "because this is what the Olympics is all about — the spirit of competition."

Jordan had no idea what Wasiqi thought of it all. By the time he finished, there was no one around who spoke his language



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette 8/5/96

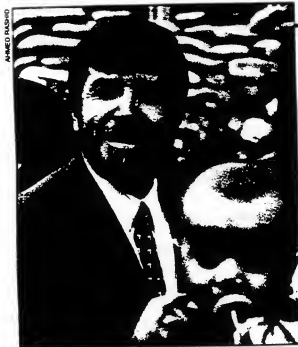
### Afghan Boxer Seeks Asylum

BUFFALO, Aug. 4 (AP) — Jawid Aman Mukhamad, the light-middleweight boxer of Afghanistan, became the second athlete of the Atlanta Games to seek political asylum. Mukhamad and his coach, Ahmad Samim, arrived here on Friday night, and were granted refugee status by the Canadian government Saturday night.

According to Mukhamad, Afghan officials accused him of being a Communist just hours after the opening ceremonies and said he would not be allowed to compete in the games. Mukhamad and Samim said their frequent trips to train in Russia prompted the accusation, which they said was not true.

Mukhamad, 24, said his primary reasons for wanting to live in Canada is to have a better chance of becoming a world-class boxer.

NYT 8/5



## PROFILE

Mohammed Haider Raza  
Afghanistan

# Saving Grace

A doctor returns to his war-torn homeland  
to write a prescription for peace

By Ahmed Rashid

**I**n Afghanistan, no one is neutral. For the warlords whose vicious struggles have killed 50,000 people and virtually destroyed the capital Kabul in the past four years, loyalty is everything. In their brutally simple view, anyone who isn't an ally is an enemy.

One Afghan, however, has managed to break the crushing embrace of feudal loyalty. He is Mohammed Haider Raza, a 46-year-old doctor and secretary-general of the Afghan Red Crescent—the Muslim world's equivalent of the Red Cross. His determination to transcend the barriers of hate has transformed the Red Crescent into what is probably the fractured country's only truly national organization.

"As a human being, I may not be neutral in this fratricidal war," he said recently, "but my job and the chair I sit on demands me to be neutral and to make the ARC a bridge for peace."

As he spoke, dozens of wailing Afghan women and children stood in the courtyard outside his office, pleading for aid. In the street, guards prevented hundreds more from entering the gates. Appearing briefly in the courtyard, Raza was swamped by those seeking help. "You understand, you are our only hope," said one woman clutching a baby and a grubby piece of paper—a medical prescription.

A year ago, Afghan-born Raza was living comfortably with his family in the United States. Then Commander Ahmad Shah Masud, Kabul's strongman, asked the doctor to return to Afghanistan to run the Red Crescent Society. He agreed, but on the condition that the group would be allowed to spread its humanitarian efforts throughout the country rather than remain confined to Kabul.

Leaving his family in America, Raza flew to the rebel strongholds in northern and southern Afghanistan, Mazar and Kandahar, to re-establish an ARC presence in those cities. He has also met with leaders of the Taliban, an Islamic student

militia that has taken control of large parts of the country in the last 18 months. In December, at the 168-country annual conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in Geneva, Raza insisted that the Afghan delegation include members from all three power centres.

"It was the first time that all the rivals for power sat around a table and discussed our common problems," Raza says. "We developed a good working relationship and mutual trust."

Observers laud his efforts. "It is very exciting that there are some Afghan organizations and individuals who are trying to bridge the divides inside the country," says Andrew Wilder, the direc-

**“ We have to end  
this dependency on  
outsiders ”**

tor of Save the Children U.S.A. "It is a major development for peace."

Raza was studying medicine in America and had returned to Kabul for a holiday in 1978 when the pro-communist coup occurred. The new regime refused to let him return to the States. After Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in 1979, his family feared they might be jailed, or worse, because of their old-regime connections. So, in 1983, they fled to neighbouring Pakistan.

**B**y 1985, Raza had begun working alongside Masud's guerilla forces north of Kabul. Two years later, the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, a group of Scandinavian aid agencies working for war relief, appointed Raza as its director of health for areas controlled by the Afghan mujahideen.

As the war continued, while his family stayed on in Pakistan, Raza set up clinics and simple hospitals across northern

Afghanistan. With Western aid, he built the first hospital for disabled victims of the war in a mujahideen-controlled area.

"We had to work by lamplight at night to build hospitals because during the day, Soviet planes were bombing anything that moved on the ground," says Raza. "Our clinics and myself were bombed several times." After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Raza returned to America to finish his studies and later to set up a practice, until Masud's call came last year.

Many Afghans today depend on relief from foreign groups. But Raza is deeply aware that the Afghans have to raise funds for humanitarian work independently. "We have to end this dependency on outsiders and convince our people that we can do things ourselves," he says. Despite the poverty in war-torn Kabul, Raza raised 70 million afghanis (\$14,750) in one week in April from traders and shopkeepers in the capital. He distributed the funds to ARC offices around the country, even those in enemy territory.

"He is trying to mobilize resources inside Afghanistan rather than remain dependent on international relief aid," notes a senior UN official. In Kabul, the ARC runs nine clinics and has set up several income-generating projects with the help of Western non-governmental organizations. It also provides 1,500 poor families with basic supplies such as wheat and cooking oil. "That is a remarkable achievement," adds the official, "given the circumstances in Kabul at present."

Emerging into the sun-lit courtyard outside his office, dressed in a suit and tie, Raza looks like any Western executive. But immediately, bedraggled, malnourished children besiege him.

"We will do what we can," Raza says with a smile. "Maybe we can be a catalyst to help push the peace process forward, and bring everyone to the table to talk."

Ahmed Rashid is a REVIEW correspondent based in Lahore.



# Kabul orphans one step ahead of fighting

By Kathy Gannon  
The Associated Press

KABUL, Afghanistan — They stand at attention at the foot of their beds, like tiny soldiers ready for inspection. They aren't soldiers, but they know all too well about war.

They are orphans. Some lined up in the stark, box-shaped concrete room are barely 6 years old.

In unison they scream out a greeting: "As-salam-o-alekum," which in Arabic means "Peace be upon you."

But for the orphans of Kabul, the past four years have been a horror of trying to keep one step ahead of the factional fighting that has flattened much of the capital and killed at least 25,000 people, many of them children.

Down a dark hall in a room crowded with at least two dozen young girls, two children — maybe 12 years old, nobody knows — try to make themselves disappear into a corner.

They haven't spoken in three years.

Sometimes they just rock back and forth. Other times they sob silently. A teacher, Raheena Fazle, says she doesn't know much about them — not even their ages. They were left at the orphanage during the fighting. They are not related to each other, but they have become inseparable, she says.

A psychologist is working with them, but "I think their pain is too deep," Fazle says.

When Islamic guerrillas marched into Kabul in 1992 after throwing out a Marxist regime, the orphans of Kabul lived in a grand old stone building surrounded by the serene snowcapped peaks of the Hindu Kush.

Then one morning the children awoke to discover their home was smack on the front line between factions that were now warring among themselves for control of Kabul.

Carmelia was barely 7 then, but she remembers the fighting clearly.

Her memories come in whispers. Her bright almond-shaped eyes glance nervously toward her friends for support.

"There were a lot of rockets. . . I was so afraid that I thought I was going to die."

After a few months, the orphans were hustled into cars and taken to Macrooyan in southern Kabul. At the time, Macrooyan was a good address, a peaceful neighborhood of posh apartment buildings built for senior government officials of the communist regime.

"Then the fighting came to Macrooyan, and they moved us here," Carmelia says. "Everything was lost — my favorite towel, a few bangles, all my clothes, everything."

Nearly 1,000 orphans are now crowded into an old school in the city's northern district of Khair Khana, a relatively peaceful neighbor-

hood even during the worst fighting.

As many as 25 children sleep in classroom-size rooms. In one room at least 15 wooden cribs are lined up along the gray walls.

The cramped quarters are more than just uncomfortable, the children run the risk of illness. Infections spread rapidly. Many of the children have open and festering sores on their faces and hands.

"It's difficult for us. We don't have enough medicines or toys," says Noor Jehan, one of the teachers.

The orphanage does receive some help from international aid groups as well as United Nations agencies such as UNICEF and Habitat.

But it is not nearly enough, Jehan says.

In Kabul's bitter winter, the children had to huddle around a diesel heater, breathing in the soot that seems to cover everything. Their meals are a steady diet of rice, vegetables and nan, the unleavened bread cooked in Afghanistan. On rare occasions the children eat meat, Jehan says.

Six-year-old Jamil sits cross-legged to tell his story. He doesn't notice that the tiny plastic sandals he wears are both for the right foot.

"I remember my mother was hit by something, but I can't remember anything else," he whispers. "One of my sisters is dead. Then someone brought me here."

Jamil can no longer recall what his mother looked like. He just remembers that "there was a lot of noise, she was bleeding. That's all."

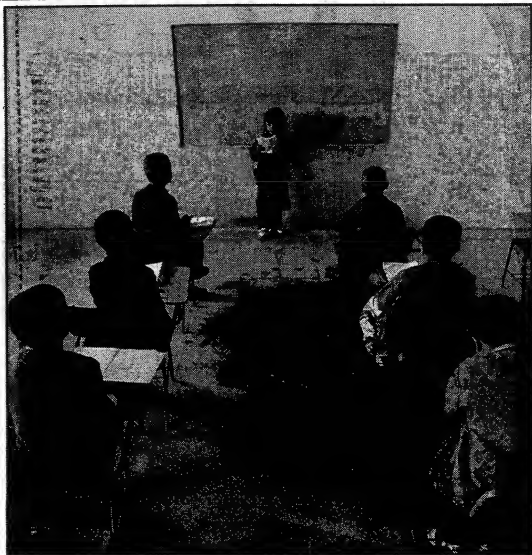
His mother died during one of hundreds of rocket assaults on the city.

Fazle, the teacher, says the nights are the hardest.

"When they dream, they scream," she says. "During the day when they cry, we keep them busy with biscuits and games, but at night it's frightening."

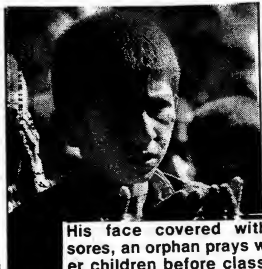
## THE DENVER POST

June 29, 1996



Associated Press / John Moore

Orphans take turns reading in their leaky classroom in Kabul's main orphanage, housed in an old school.



His face covered with open sores, an orphan prays with other children before class at Kabul's main orphanage. The facility is chronically short of medical supplies.



# Humanitarian Disaster

In a tiny bakery in the centre of Kabul, Bibi Zohra heads a group of young women baking nan. Every day, they prepare this traditional, unleavened bread for more than 1,000 victims of the civil war—the disabled, the widowed and their families. Zohra, who looks twice her age, automatically ducks as a Taliban rocket screams over the mud-brick shack, which is already pockmarked with bullet holes and shrapnel.

Her home was twice destroyed by rockets. The first, fired by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's forces in 1993, killed her husband; the second, fired three months ago by the Taliban, killed her eldest son. With six other children and parents to support, Zohra donated part of the land where her house once stood to the World Food Programme for a bakery. The WFP gave her a job in return.

"Look at my face. Don't you see the tragedy of our lives and our country marked all over it?" she asks. "Day by day the situation is worsening. We have become beggars dependent on the United Nations to survive. It is not the Afghan way."

With the post-communist civil war in its fourth year, a massive humanitarian and economic disaster is looming over Afghanistan. And it doesn't help that Western donor countries have been parsimonious with aid to UN relief organizations. "Tens of thousands of Afghans could starve to death this winter unless the West redoubles peace efforts and humanitarian relief," says a senior Western diplomat in Kabul.

The daily battle for most Kabulis is to find enough of the grubby banknotes—they are still printed in Russia—to pay for food. Although the shops are full of smuggled foodstuffs from Iran and Pakistan, most people can't afford them. Inflation is running at 50% a month and \$1 fetches 13,000 afghanis, up from 5,500 in January.

In Kabul, one nan costs 500 afghanis, compared with 100 afghanis a few months ago. The price of a kilogram of meat has shot up to 22,000 afghanis—the equivalent of one month's salary for the average Afghan worker—from 4,000 afghanis.

Not surprisingly, 400,000 Kabulis—a third of the city's population—depend almost entirely on Western relief. The WFP and other agencies run dozens of bakeries to provide cheap bread to 25,000 families of war widows and 7,000 families of disabled men. "For the poorest, this is a handout economy," says a WFP official.



Battle for bread: Bibi Zohra is the face of human misery in war-battered Kabul.

It's about to get worse. UN officials say they are rapidly running out of money. The UN appeal for Afghanistan in October 1995 called for \$124 million in emergency contributions from Western donors; as of May, pledges and contributions amounted to just \$35.6 million. "The West needs to build up a critical mass of international involvement and commitment by encouraging the peace process," says Martin Barber, the coordinator of UN humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan.

Most Afghans, especially children, are suffering from chronic malnutrition. This makes them vulnerable to an epidemic of diarrhoea, caused by polluted water, that has swept the country in recent months. There are also fears of cholera and typhoid breaking out. The UN has set aside \$14 million to pump fresh water from Logar province to Kabul. But that may not be enough.

At a playground set up by Save the Children in a Kabul housing complex, Afghan children playing on the swings bear the telltale signs of malnourishment—swollen bellies, sallow faces and stunted growth.

The children face the worst of the horrors of war. "War widows go out to find work and have to lock their children in the bathroom for the whole day so they avoid the rockets. Other

widows are selling their children in the bazaar to stop them from starving to death," says Sofie Elisussen, the director of Save the Children in Kabul.

■ Ahmed Rashid

FAR EASTERN  
ECONOMIC REVIEW

6/13

FRONTIER POST 8/7

## Together at last!

UNDATED — Hanifa is scanning the skies over Mazar-i-Sharif with growing impatience. At last a speck appears: the ICRC aircraft from Kabul. As soon it as taxis to a halt, Abdul Hakim emerges. He looks around hesitantly, then sees Hanifa and dashes down the steps. He has not seen his wife for four years.

In 1992 a rocket destroyed their house in Kabul, leaving the family homeless. Hanifa made her way to Mazar-i-Sharif to join her three adult children, while her husband left for Pakistan. When Abdul Hakim returned to the Afghan capital in June 1996, he heard that the ICRC was reuniting families and a seed of hope began to grow.

The ICRC set up its family reunification programme in Afghanistan in mid-1995, giving priority to the most vulnerable individuals:

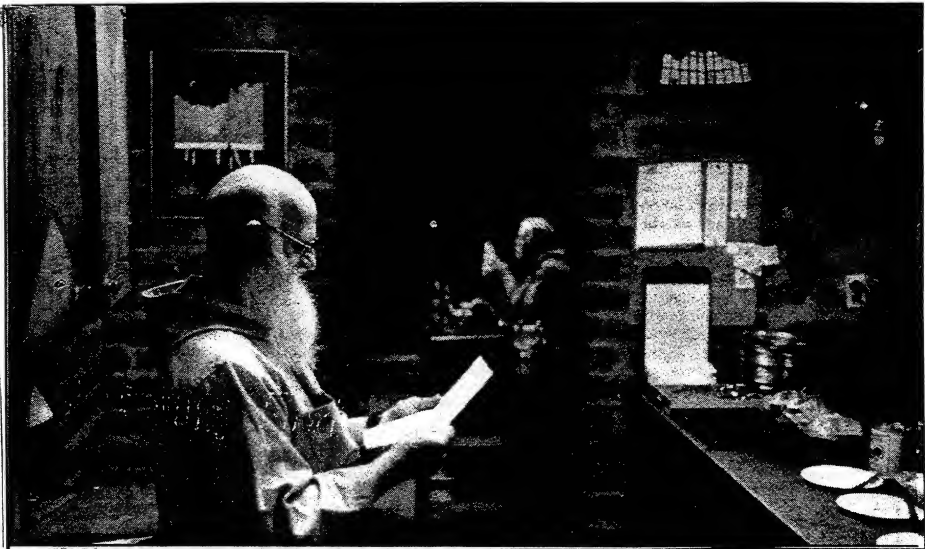
- women, enabling them to join their husbands or, if the husband has died, another close relative;
- children under 16; who are reunited with their parents;
- persons over 60 years of age, who are reunited with their spouses or children.

Since the beginning of this year arrangements have been made for 43 people to rejoin their families.

This activity is part of a wider programme whose primary aim is to restore family links. Since 1991 the ICRC has been gradually setting up a countrywide network for the collection and distribution of Red Cross messages.

Thousands of Afghan civilians have been able to restore or maintain contact with relatives abroad. So far this year 6,092 messages have been collected, 2,116 of them from detainees visited by the ICRC, and 4,800 have been distributed, 961 of them to detainees. — ICRC

# Finding Light After Darkness



A stint in an Afghanistan prison eventually brought Tony O'Brien to photograph the tranquility of monastic life in New Mexico.

## By Christian de La Chapelle

"We are but poor players, strutting and fretting upon the stage, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing," William Shakespeare, of course, said that, and to this day, no one has disproven his hypothesis. How many times do we ever actually stop and consider the strange world in which we live, why we do what we do, or whether we even like to do what we do? For most of us, not often.

Then along comes a story like Tony O'Brien's that forces you to think. He currently has a photo exhibit titled "A Light in the Desert" at the Sag Harbor Picture Gallery. But, in this case, every picture doesn't tell the story, at least not the whole story.

Imprisonment in Afghanistan, freedom, introspection, and reflection in a New Mexico monastery are the specifics, but it is the process of life learning that takes on a greater importance. While on assignment for Life magazine in Afghanistan, O'Brien linked up with five guerillas in the hope of doing a story on the Mujadin activities in Kabul. With the Russians no longer controlling the

country as of 1989, Afghanistan represented a dangerous place to be searching for a story.

Sure enough, one of the guerillas in the group sold him out to the secret police, known as the KHAD. An American in a foreign land during a period of upheaval, O'Brien was accused of being a spy and locked up in a small, solitary confinement cell for six weeks.

## No Answers

While his detainment did not include physical torture nor abusive jailers, it was still a horrible experience. Held against his will with no chance of a fair trial to prove his innocence (and no strong idea of why he was being imprisoned at all), O'Brien had all the time in the world to think about his life to that point. As in most cases, unexpected tragedy is one of the few ways human beings seem to be able to reprioritize. "In prison, I realized that I don't have the answers," O'Brien told *The Independent*.

With his situation being addressed by (what was then) *Time* Life and its far-reaching grasp as well as colleagues in the photo-journalism industry and

friends he hadn't spoken to in years, O'Brien was eventually released from captivity. He had befriended another one of the prisoners in his cell, a man who had been arrested for passing out rebel pamphlets.

"He turned out to be one of the most amazing men I've ever met," O'Brien recalled.

This kind of sentiment is characteristic of the often inspirational conclusions O'Brien draws from his imprisonment. It was not only "one of the best experiences of my life," but "it gave me a new lease on life." Of course, what else would you expect from a man who later went back to Afghanistan and actually had tea with some of his jailers.

## "Bull" Priorities

Which is not to say that he didn't go through hell. "It was the worst experience in my life also in that I found out how vulnerable I really was," O'Brien said. "In that respect, vulnerability tends to be like a book we put on the shelf and don't really want to look at."

He came away feeling that love and commitment were the keys to life, and that their fulfillment better allowed for life's fulfillment. In any case, O'Brien said with a knowing laugh that "99 percent of my priorities were absolute bull."

With all that in mind, his story could have ended there. Instead, he headed to a Benedictine monastery at the base of the Sangro de Christo mountains in New Mexico. This may have been the "most challenging part — feeling like you learned something and then trying to apply it." He was drawn to the simplicity of monastic life, and struck by how this stark simplicity was somewhat reminiscent of his prison days.

"Looking for the answer," he found that the monks are "normal people just like you and I" who didn't know the meaning of life any more than he did. Still, he stayed for approximately a year and a half in order to photograph their "essence," a blend of humility, commitment, and devotion to God.

### Incredible Love

From his stay with the monks, O'Brien took away an appreciation for "the beauty of simple things." And it is this, along with the Zen-like quality of the monks, that he has so brilliantly captured in his photographs on display at the Sag Harbor Picture Gallery through July 11.

He hopes that all that he gained from his imprisonment exists in the feel of the photos. And he praises Jocelyn Benzakers, owner of the gallery, for her "incredible love of photography, along with a great deal of integrity." Having recently become the father of twins, O'Brien's life has been forever altered by his two contrasting experiences in an Afghanistan prison and a New Mexico monastery. That much the wiser, he now knows what is truly important to him.

And it is that knowledge, he said, that has truly set him free.

East Hampton INDEPENDENT  
6/26

## Athlete backs fight against kids' diseases

By Elizabeth Kurylo  
STAFF WRITER



Cody

be for a competition.

Cody is helping to start a four-day project to immunize hundreds of thousands of children in the capital city of Kabul and the northern town of Mazar.

The mission is sponsored by Olympic Aid-Atlanta, which is raising money to help 18 million children in 14 war-torn countries.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) officials will try to negotiate a cease-fire so doctors and nurses can immunize children against measles, cholera, polio, tuberculosis, whooping cough and typhoid.

Afghanistan has been at war for 15 years, leaving health services and the education system in ruins. About 4 million children have died because of disease and malnutrition, and thousands have been disabled by land mines.

"I can't even imagine the circumstances that these children are living in," said Cody, 33. "When I go to other countries, I appreciate what we have here."

Wheelchair athlete Ann Cody has traveled the world, picking up medals in the Barcelona and Seoul Paralympics and educating people about challenges faced by disabled people.

But when she arrives in Afghanistan today, it won't

UNICEF has been negotiating cease-fires to immunize children since 1983, said Staffan de Mistura, director of public affairs. They hope to do it on a wider scale during the Olympics if they can negotiate truces.

"Every time it's a little bit complicated, but it's always worked," he said. "We did it in Sudan, Somalia, northern Iraq, El Salvador, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Cambodia."

UNICEF asks leaders to think of their children and put down their weapons. They select routes, or "corridors of tranquillity," where nurses and doctors can travel with medicine.

"The answer often is yes, because the agreement is not about peacemaking or who is right and wrong. It is simply about how to address a problem of their children," de Mistura said. "Hands become human again."

More children die from disease than bullets in war zones, de Mistura said.

Cody, venue director for the Atlanta Paralympic Organizing Committee, said it may be difficult to get around Afghanistan in her wheelchair, but she tries to be "open and flexible."

"There is a stigma that disability carries with it, and it does vary a little bit from culture to culture," said Cody, paralyzed at 16 when a viral infection damaged her spinal cord.

"I want to be able to effect positive change and become more passionate about developing countries, because I know that people with disabilities in those countries really don't have much of a chance to live their lives," she said.

Olympic Aid-Atlanta is sponsored by UNICEF and the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games. It has raised \$8 million of its \$15 million goal.

The Atlanta Journal / The Atlanta Constitution

6/16

### AFGHAN NEWS BRIEFS - June 12, 1996

AFGHAN / US MEDICINE -- A FORMER PROFESSOR OF JALALABAD MEDICAL SCHOOL, NASER SHINWARAI, CURRENTLY PRACTICING MEDICINE IN INDIANAPOLIS, TALKS ABOUT THE ADVANCES IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE IN THE US. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH STAFFER SAYED B SHAH, SHINWARAI EXPLAINED HOW THE MEDICAL SYSTEM WORKS IN THE US, AND HOW TOO MUCH SIGNIFICANCE IS ATTACHED TO CORRECT DIAGNOSIS AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD TREATMENT OF DISEASE. (PASHTO 6/9)

# CHRONOLOGY

6/3 - Afghan News Service (ANS) - Mujadedi, Pres. of the Supreme Coordinating Council (SCC) & Karim Khalili, leader of Hezbe-Wahdat, opened a university in Bamiyan. It has faculties of Engineering, Agriculture, Science & Theology.

6/12 - ANS - An Afghan Gov't delegation went to Tehran to participate in the 1st meeting of the Afghan-Iranian joint Economic Commission. One topic of discussion will be the \$50m aid money Iran promised Afghanistan 2 years ago.  
- Iran opened a consulate in Jalalabad on 6/9.  
- Voice of America reported that Pashtun author & language researcher Seddiq Rohi died of cancer in Germany.

6/22 - ANS - The Red Cross says it has registered almost 15,000 amputees in Afghanistan since 1988. Most are land mine victims.

6/25 - ANS - Lt. Gen. Rasoul Pahlwan, a deputy of Dostum, was killed while driving home last evening. He was buried in Maimana.

6/27 - NYT - Hekmatyar was sworn in as Prime minister yesterday during a Taliban rocket attack. The ceremony was held at the Intercontinental Hotel. (See pp. 10-12)

7/6 - Reuters - A new Afghan cabinet was sworn in. Of the 9 ministers named, only 6 took the oath in the Presidential Palace; the others were out of town. Taking the oath were Defense Minister Wahidullah Sabawoon & Finance Minister Abdul Hadi Arghandiwal, both of Hezbe-Islami. (See p. 11)

7/11 - The Muslim (Pakistan) - Hekmatyar lays down an "Islam-oriented" policy (see p. 13).

7/13 - ANS - A 3-member delegation from Amnesty Int'l is in Kabul to review the human rights situation (see 7/21).

7/15 - ANS - Norbert Holl of Germany is the new UN envoy for Afghanistan. He said that the UN does not have a peace plan for Afghanistan nor does it have the military or financial power to impose a solution on the Afghans. He plans to try to bring the leaders to a round table for discussion rather than holding bilateral talks with them. He says foreign interference is one of the major obstacles in reaching a solution & that there have been discussions at the UN about imposing an arms embargo on Afghanistan. Holl was formerly the Director for South Asia in the German Foreign Office (see pp. 22-24).

- The Muslim (Pakistan) -

Meanwhile, the UN Secretary General has merged the office of the Secretary General in Afghanistan and Pakistan (OSGAP) with the Special Mission from July 1, to be known as United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan (UN SMA).

7/17 - ANS - According to Gailani, 5 groups have formed an alliance: Dostum's Nat'l Islamic Movement, Mujadedi's Jabha Party, Khalili's Hezbe-Wahdat, & the Nengrahar Council have joined with Gailani's Nat'l Islamic Front to work towards the transfer of power from Rabbani to a broad-based interim gov't which would form a Loya Jirgah, etc.

- Washington Post:

■ **KABUL, Afghanistan**—A rebel pilot flew a MiG-21 jet fighter through antiaircraft fire to land and surrender at a government air base.

A military spokesman said it was the first time a Taliban rebel pilot had deserted to the government.

The pilot, Abdul Jalil, flew to Bagram air base, about 20 miles north of Kabul, said an army spokesman, Gen. Muslim, who like many Afghans uses only one name. Jalil took off from an airport in the Taliban stronghold of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan.

"I talked about this for nights and nights and decided to do it," Jalil said. "I had been in contact with the government for about 10 months."

Jalil said the Taliban have about 12 aircraft based in Kandahar and the western city of Herat. Only a few are operational.



## The Watergate's Mane Event

■ The late Milton Pitts was known as "the barber to the presidents." Far less famous was Pitts's employee at his Sheraton Carlton salon, Zahira Aziz, who frequently took a clipper to the Gipper and to President Reagan's veep, George Bush.

Zahira—she uses only one name—has beautified comic Mark Russell, former secretary of state Jim Baker and former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

Tonight, numerous Zahira clients are expected for cocktails and canapes (but no cuts) to launch her new Watergate Hotel salon.

Hairdressing and manicuring are a long way from the posh life Zahira lived as the daughter of an Afghan prime minister, sister of a



Zahira coils Mark Russell.

leading pop musician there and wife of a U.N. diplomat.

The 1979 Soviet invasion changed everything. Her brother was killed, her father died while under house arrest, and the family's vast holdings were seized. Zahira, her husband and three children were safe in New York, but stateless and jobless.

Luckily, she'd gotten a cosmetology license "for fun" before disaster struck and was able to support the family.

Today, for \$28 plus tip, she'd love to trim President Clinton's locks: "He has beautiful hair, and I can charge him less than \$200." Zahira also wants to do Watergate resident Bob Dole, a \$9-a-cut Senate barbershop client. "He lives next door, I also do color, and he'd have a spectacular view of the river from my salon."

THE WASHINGTON POST SEPTEMBER 10, 1996

NOTE CARDS with colored pre-war photos of Afghanistan are available from Luke Powell @ \$11.70 per dozen plus shipping. (sample at left; address below.)

### The Slingshot

Haddah (near Jallalabad), Afghanistan,  
24 April 1978, 35 mm Nikon,  
50 mm Nikkor lens, Ektachrome 200 film,  
Dye Transfer print 1984.

Luke Powell  
230 Battell Block  
Middlebury, Vermont  
U.S.A. 05753  
802 388-3216 tel & fax  
Internet: luke@sover.net



Can anyone tell us about this one?

*The*  
**Helman**

**CUISINE FROM  
AFGHANISTAN**



**143 First Street Cambridge  
617-492-4646**

—THE BOSTON PHOENIX

AUGUST 23, 1996

## SHISH KEBAB HOUSE OF AFGHANISTAN

360 Franklin Ave., Hartford. 296-0301  
MC/Visa, Amex, Diners. Wheelchair accessible. ★★★

During our first "official reviewer" visit to this fine, well-established Afghan restaurant on Franklin Avenue, our group universally associated the sparse crowd with a decided failure of most people in Greater Hartford to operate outside of their self-confining boxes. We suspect that many of the people who bemoan the fact that this isn't the most cosmopolitan area in the country are the same people who rarely patronize a Hartford restaurant that offers a taste of that wider world they claim to crave.

And what a likable restaurant those hypocrites are missing. Even the visuals (not traditionally the strong suit of "ethnic restaurants") are first-rate. The low lighting and candlelight against the pale yellow walls; the fresh flowers, the blond knotty booths in the far room and the star-style music all meld into a sense that one is "not in Kansas anymore." This sparkling clean bistro is further defined by several unusual Afghan artifacts—different native fabric beneath each glass tabletop, an enormous brass samovar, a beautiful tasseled pouch made from an antique Oriental rug, a mounted mini-display of the tools employed in creating such handmade rugs and an exquisite display of the traditional clothing worn by an Afghan child.

Speaking very generally, the cuisine at Shish Kebab House is a pleasant confluence of northern Indian and Middle Eastern influences. Fortunately, the menu is largely comprehensible to one who has never sampled standard fare in Afghanistan. Kebabs are prominently featured in a surprising array—scallops, shrimp, swordfish and sausage as well as the more conventional chicken/lamb/veal. But many of the most satisfying items were selected from less predictable sections of the menu. Although it was recommended by several fans of this restaurant, we didn't try the "dinner treat"—a \$79 dinner for four meant to replicate the sort of multi-course meal you might have if you were invited into a well-stocked home in Kabul. Most entrees were priced in the \$10 to \$14 range, including several side dishes.

On entering the restaurant, we saw that the mantoo, a steamed dumpling filled with herbed meat and onions topped with yellow peas and a pungent sauce, had won an award at the Taste of Hartford a few years ago. This delicacy certainly deserved a special designation. Likewise the pea soup, a distinctive lentil which was unexpectedly of a reddish hue, hinting of a tomato broth base.

The basket of warm flatbread which accompanies all meals was exceptional, a great complement to the soup. Although we liked the hot green coriander sauce, our group did wish there was a wider choice of condiments. We were also enthusiastic about the ashak—a spinach, noodle, scallion and chopped beef concoction with a yogurt dressing.

The chicken kebab and the beef kabob were a bit of a surprise as our server, one of the owners, totally eschewed the whole American notion of extracting the meat and grilled vegetables from a metal skewer. No cherry tomatoes, onions or pepper were in evidence, just charcoal-tenderloin and lumps of chicken breast placed on a bed of wonderfully flavorful, brown basmati rice. This crunchy-yet-tender grain was a reminder of just how important the "starch" is to a well-balanced meal. On the other hand, the lamb chops were a disappointment—unusually thin and charred to the point that they appeared carbonized (albeit still tasty). But the lamb morsels in the sultan's dinner, with its viscous brown sauce, were quite memorable indeed.



Co-owners and brothers  
Mousa Amiri  
and Kareem Amiri

## ORGANIZATIONS

The AFGHANISTAN RECONSTRUCTION SUPPORT COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 18, Westmont, IL 60559 & its sister organization, the AFGHAN WOMEN'S TASK FORCE, 1865 Sherman, 7 NW, Evanston, IL 60201, have given some of their funds to a new NGO \* founded by Mary MacMakin. PARSA (Physiotherapy & Rehabilitation Support in Afghanistan) will work with the Afghan Ministry of Health & other local & int'l organizations to improve & extend training & physiotherapy throughout Afghanistan.

Other organizations supported by ARSC & the Women's Task Force are Bicycles for Afghan Amputees Rehabilitation (BAAR), AFRANE (Amity Franco-Afghane, Doctors Without Borders & the American Red Cross for transfer to the ICRC).

\* PARSA is based in Kabul, but has a Peshawar address: 106 Gul Haji Plaza, Jamrud Road, Peshawar, Pakistan.

Organizations continued on next page...

The vegetables that accompanied the entrees were sensational. In particular, the pureed pumpkin, with onion, garlic, red pepper and coriander accents, elicited rave reviews, even from a confirmed pumpkin-basher. The elegant received almost equally favorable comments: even the skin was tasty. By themselves, the desserts are not cause to traverse the state. The quintessentially American fudge frosted chocolate cake layered with raspberry preserves was perfectly acceptable. The fennel (a milk pudding with cardamom and crushed pistachios) didn't ring our Western chimes.

Nevertheless, the Shish Kebab House is a treasure to be shared with your friends. Crawl out of your suburban lair and come to Franklin Avenue for a real treat.

By Wayne Fontana

Hartford Advocate 7/11

# Creating Hope International

P. O. Box 1058  
Dearborn, MI 48121  
U.S.A.  
(313) 323-3634

Creating Hope  
Int'l (CHI),  
a Michigan-  
based non-pro-  
fit organi-  
zation, is  
trying to raise  
enough money  
for the Afghan  
Institute of  
Learning (see  
article at  
right) to con-  
tinue its pro-  
gram of sending  
Afghan children  
to school.

CHI's Executive  
Director, Toc  
Dunlap, worked  
in Pakistan for  
8 years with  
Afghan educators,  
training teacher  
trainers & help-  
ing Afghan  
schools obtain  
funding.

She says that  
14,000 Afghan  
children need  
help & that \$35  
will help a  
child attend  
school for a  
year. Send your  
contribution  
to CHI at the  
above address.

After ten years of building the foundation for a quality educational system for Afghanistan, Afghan refugee schools are in a crisis. Fewer than 70,000 students remain in school and many of the schools still open are in danger of having to close their doors this year, despite the fact that it costs **only \$35 per year** to educate a child. Afghans have sacrificed and contributed what they can to keep their children in school, but their resources are just not sufficient.

Less than four years ago, there were more than 300,000 Afghan refugee children attending schools. Education was a top priority, and 200 teacher trainers had trained over 10,000 teachers to provide quality education. Then the funding for education from outside donors and UNHCR began to decline. Responding to the need, many in the Afghan community began to learn ways to contribute to the support of their schools without outside funding and, today, almost all schools that remain open are partially self-supporting. However, because of the poor economic situation for refugees, the schools are not able to be completely self-sufficient and the funding from outside donors has continued to decrease. By the end of 1995, less than 70,000 refugee students were attending school and fewer than 50 teacher trainers continued to train teachers. Then more teacher trainers were laid off and a few more schools said that they might have to close.

That is when a few Afghan women, concerned about the future of their country and the education of Afghan children, decided to do something. They formed the Afghan Institute of Learning, an Afghan non-governmental organization (NGO), with the goal of expanding educational and training opportunities for ALL Afghans. Based in Peshawar, Pakistan, the Afghan Institute of Learning (AIL) has already begun to make a difference. With AIL support, two schools with 1700 students remained open to finish the 1995-96 school year. In May 1996, AIL received a grant from Creating Hope International to expand its program to train teachers, support and supervise schools and provide health education for a year.

Today, AIL has four programs (Gawhar Model School with 350 students in grades 1-7, Pre-School Education Program, Health Education Program and Teacher Training and School Support Program) and a staff of 28. AIL's activities include the following:

- AIL has finished training 26 primary school teachers in a month long technique seminar and plans to train 175 more teachers by April 1997 in teaching techniques, math, social studies, administration, and Arabic grammar. AIL has been invited to train teachers in Jalalabad, Khost, Ghazni and Herat.
- AIL has supported two schools and 9 summer enrichment classes for 2000 students. It has funds to support one school with 350 students for the 1996-97 school year. However, 4000 students need assistance if their schools are to open in September 1996. It is estimated that schools with over 10,000 students will need assistance by January 1997. AIL provides partial salary assistance for the teachers, supervision and teacher training and some books and student supplies. The community provides the building and security, part of the teachers' salaries and contributions towards books and supplies.
- AIL has 6 self-supporting pre-schools with 85 students and plans to open 4 additional pre-schools for 60 students in September 1996. AIL provides supervision and teacher training for the pre-schools.
- AIL provides health education to 300 women per week in Afghan health clinics. It is presently providing health education training to 30 primary school teachers and plans to train 60 more teachers by April 1997. It has been invited to train health educators in Jalalabad, Khost and Herat.



## OUT OF AFGHANISTAN

*The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal.*  
By Diego Cordovez and Selig S. Harrison.  
Illustrated. 450 pp. New York:  
Oxford University Press. \$35.

## THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

*From Buffer State to Failed State.*  
By Barnett R. Rubin.  
190 pp. New Haven:  
Yale University Press. \$25.

## THE FRAGMENTATION OF AFGHANISTAN

*State Formation and Collapse in the International System.*  
By Barnett R. Rubin.  
370 pp. New Haven:  
Yale University Press. \$37.50.

By Karl E. Meyer

THESE books illustrate what deserves to be called the Buchanan strain in American foreign policy. Not Pat Buchanan, but Tom and Daisy, F. Scott Fitzgerald's careless couple who "smashed up things and then retreated back into their money . . . and let other people clean up the mess they had made." For upward of four decades, the United States fought covertly or overtly against Communists and their clients around the globe, often arming anomalous partners in the name of freedom. When the cold war ended, America declared victory and pleaded new priorities, leaving the mess in Asia, Africa and Central America for others to deal with.

A famous proxy victory was won in Afghanistan, the rugged, remote and fractious country that the Soviet Union invaded in 1979 to rescue an imperiled Marxist ally. In February 1989 the last Russian left, thereby ending a catastrophic war that claimed a million lives and displaced a third of the population. Nevertheless, seven years after the Russian withdrawal, fighting continues in Afghanistan among a dozen factions using weapons supplied by former foreign patrons.

In Washington, meantime, passionate engagement has yielded to baffled fatalism. The "freedom fighters" who were once lauded by three Presidents and a near-unanimous Congress are now discovered to be infected by Ancient Hatreds, that vague, useful and unthreatening adversary that has supplanted the Evil Empire. Three recent books expose the inadequacy, to use the mildest term, of that shameless denial.

Diego Cordovez, an Ecuadorean, was the principal United Nations negotiator of

the Geneva accords that brought about the Soviet withdrawal. His collaborator on "Out of Afghanistan" is Selig S. Harrison, a Washington-based specialist in Asian politics. The authors take the story forward in alternating chapters, with unavoidable repetitions and, in Mr. Cordovez's case, a bit too much tittle-tattle about diplomatic wining and dining. Yet their narrative is an invaluable complement to "The Fragmentation of Afghanistan" and its sequel, "The Search for Peace in Afghanistan," by Barnett R. Rubin, an American scholar who worked in the field as a human rights monitor.

Mr. Rubin is excellent in sketching the peculiarities of Afghan history. Unlike India or the nearby Islamic emirates in Russian Turkestan, Afghanistan avoided colonial rule in the 19th century. Its unwelcoming mountains and passes were guarded by fierce tribal peoples whose rivalries ceased when meddling foreigners appeared. Victorian Britain twice invaded Afghanistan, and twice found it could not hold and rule Kabul. The pragmatic result was a *modus vivendi* in which Britain and czarist Russia agreed to treat Afghanistan as a nonaligned buffer state. This arrangement held under Stalin, who maintained correct relations with the Afghan king, even sparing him from a Moscow-inspired Communist Party. Not until 1965, when the Soviets moved aggressively toward the third world, was an Afghan party founded.

Mr. Rubin's thesis, which seems to me plausible, is that in preserving its independence during the imperial era, Afghanistan also preserved a traditionalist tribal society that might have otherwise been modified by a centralizing colonial government. But the coming of the cold war, combined with the emergence in 1947 of an independent India and Pakistan, undermined the old equilibrium. Everybody seemed to have claims and interests in Afghanistan. Moscow, Washington and other donors, notably Iran and gulf Arabs, financed roads, arms sales and schools, so that foreign aid soon accounted for 40 percent of the national budget. In 1973, Afghan Communists joined with left-wing officers to oust the king and found a republic. This was followed in five years by a Communist coup led by the fanatic Khalq faction, whose leader, Hafizullah Amin, duly engaged in mass arrests, purges and torture on a scale equaled only by the cruelest emirs in centuries past.

The result was widespread resistance and a disintegrating army. In Moscow, Kremlin hard-liners like Mikhail Suslov argued that the collapse of the Afghan revolution would imperil Communist regimes everywhere. On Dec. 24, 1979, the first Soviet airborne forces landed in Kabul. Three days later, the Soviets executed Amin, replacing him as party leader with Babrak

Karmal, a Brezhnev favorite who returned from exile with the invaders. An operation so brazen, in a country so hostile and xenophobic, was doomed from the outset.

In Washington, Jimmy Carter found overwhelming support in Congress for covert aid to seven resistance groups based in Pakistan, their politics ranging from secular democratic to Islamic fundamentalist. But in order to preserve deniability, this covert aid was distributed by the military intelligence service of Pakistan, whose leadership had its own Afghan agenda. It thus developed that the single biggest bene-

ficiary of American help was the group led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, a violent Islamic extremist of a type generically described as "bearded engineers": university trained, supremely intolerant and viscerally anti-American. On the evidence of these books, Mr. Hikmatyar was also a drug smuggler, counterfeiter, murderer and unscrupulous intriguer.

This was our man in Afghanistan because Pakistan wanted an Islamic fundamentalist regime in Kabul. As the United Nations negotiator, Mr. Cordovez found that Pakistan was the biggest obstacle to peace after Mikhail Gorbachev began signaling his wish for a Soviet pullout. Mr. Cordovez pressed vainly for the creation of a transition regime headed by the deposed Afghan monarch, Zahir Shah, then living in exile in Rome. The King was willing, and a poll taken by the respected Afghan writer and poet Sayd Majrooh showed that Afghan refugees in Pakistan overwhelmingly preferred Zahir Shah to any resistance leader. After he published this survey in February 1988, Majrooh was assassinated with American-supplied weapons at the orders, so Mr. Rubin and others generally believe, of Mr. Hikmatyar.

But the greater moral and political failure lay in Washington, not Islamabad. On the evidence of these volumes, Islamic fundamentalists were not taken seriously by the Reagan White House. Speaking to Mr. Harrison, Caspar W. Weinberger, Mr. Reagan's Secretary of Defense, admitted that "we knew they were not very nice people," but "we had this terrible problem of making choices." It is the immemorial voice of Tom and Daisy Buchanan.

Washington believed that once the Russians withdrew, everything would fall swiftly into place. Hence the opposition to any transition regime. And hence, worst of all, the American decision to move the goalposts at Geneva in 1988.

BEFORE the peace conference, Washington had agreed to stop sending arms if the Russians went home. But at Geneva, sniffing a deal and Mr. Gorbachev's desperation, American negotiators switched from "negative" to "positive symmetry," that is, let-

ting all sides continue to arm their respective allies. Belatedly, by that time the Bush Administration had decreed that no weapons paid for with its funds would go to Mr. Hikmatyar. But it made no difference. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia continued to shower arms on the fundamentalists.

Viewing the melancholy wreckage, Mr. Rubin remarks that if the United States and its allies won the cold war, no ally paid more for this goal than the people of Afghanistan: "The maneuvers of party leaders may inspire cynicism or repulsion, but millions of unknown people sacrificed their homes, their land, their cattle, their health, their families and their lives, with barely a hope of success or reward, at least in this world." If any member of Congress in the large mujahedeen cheerleading brigade has raised his or her voice in favor of generous economic assistance and a vigorous peacemaking diplomacy in behalf of the Afghan people, it has escaped notice. □

Karl E. Meyer, an editorial writer for The New York Times, has commented on Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion in 1979.

## THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

August 11, 1996

### THE GOSPEL OF CORAX

By Paul Park.  
297 pp. New York:  
Soho Press. \$25.

By Colleen McCullough

IT is generally considered proper for a novelist dealing with important historical characters to remain reasonably true to what is historically known — a task made easier by using a first-person narration by a character who is historically insignificant. Paul Park's structural choice is a wise one, for the only head he gets inside belongs to his fictitious narrator. "The Gospel of Corax" purports to be the autobiography of a young man whose family hails from the Indian Himalayas. His father, a mercenary in the army of the King of the Parthians, was captured and sold into slavery. Thus Corax grows up in the Roman household of Aulus Cornelius Celsus, an encyclopedist whose eight volumes on medicine still survive. The identity of the real Celsus is moot, but Mr. Park makes him resident in

Rome and gives him senatorial rank. Because he is a lovely youth, Corax's fate at the hands of Celsus is predictable.

The story opens as Corax flees east across the Mediterranean, his master dead in his bath with veins opened and the house in flames. Prominent Romans, among them Sejanus, the praetorian prefect, and his minions, who include the prefect of Judea, Pontius Pilate, want Corax for murder. In Caesarea, Pilate's capital, the fugitive opens a booth in the marketplace and earns a reputation for healing that brings him to the attention of a number of Jews: Menahem, a Galilean bandit; his henchman Barabbas; the Essene Jeshua of Nazareth; Jeshua's cousin John; and one Judas Ish Kariot, a spy in the pay of Pilate. Against his will, Corax becomes embroiled in their activities and is imprisoned by the Romans. Escaping, he begins the longed-for journey to his father's birthplace at the source of the Ganges. But Jeshua of Nazareth has escaped too, and try though he may,

Corax cannot elude this physically herculean, genitally well-endowed, cerebrally complex, psychically powerful man.

Bound together by ill luck as much as by necessity, the two embark upon an odyssey that takes them through Mesopotamia, across the mountains to Media and eastward to Parthia, Arachosia (now Afghanistan) and the Indus River. Along the way they encounter Parthian aristocrats, Jewish bandits, the people of the Tigris swamps, caravans plying the Silk Road, the barbarian Massagetae, the far more barbarous Huns, a Serican (Chinese) or two and the descendants of those Macedonian troops Alexander the Great left behind to colonize the upper Indus. All thrilling, even if somewhat imaginatively elastic; one moment there are Celtic Massagetae, the next moment Mr. Park's Huns and Scythians are patently Mongol.

At first I expected that Jeshua of Nazareth would be enlightened by the great wise men of various Eastern religious systems; then I discovered that in fact he is profoundly influenced by two men only, each of whom Corax deems a

fool: the Cynic philosopher Philoxenus of Pergamum and the inbred Indo-Macedonian prince Nagasena. Philoxenus speaks in parables, Nagasena in riddles. And neither, to Corax's callous mind, has anything to offer a thinking man.

I CONFESS that once Josephus, Celsus, Tacitus and the other obvious ancient sources are disposed of, I could not identify Mr. Park's other sources beyond, perhaps, Robert Graves's "King Jesus." But none of this interferes with the enjoyment to be had in reading a highly sophisticated fairy tale. I do not, however, recommend that believing Christians of an orthodox kind read "The Gospel of Corax": Mary, the mother of Jesus, is a shrew of dubious morals; John the Baptist is a hairy ape who displays his penis, flagellates, masturbates and has done murder. Judas's addiction to clean hands, shirts and beer seems mild by comparison.

I also admit that I grew weary of Corax's endless, graphically described ailments and treatments, and am skeptical of Corax's modern medical skills. Yet the novel is well written, absorbing and short. □

Colleen McCullough's most recent novel is "Caesar's Women."

## THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW

July 14, 1996

### NOUVEAU

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# Broken Faces



## BOOKS

*Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal*

by Diego Cordovez and Selig Harrison.  
Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Ave., New York. \$35.

*The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*

by Barnett Rubin. Yale University Press, 23 Pond St., London. £24.

With Kabul under siege by a new alliance of opposition warlords, Afghanistan continues its 15-year-long descent into hell. The state has collapsed, the economy runs on heroin, and Kalashnikov assault rifles rule the roost. These two books predict a future for Afghanistan that is as grim as the country's present.

*Out of Afghanistan* is an insider's account of the negotiations that led to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. It's jointly written in alternating chapters by the former United Nations Special Representative to Afghanistan, Diego Cordovez, who negotiated the epoch-making deal that contributed to the unravelling of the Soviet Union, and by American journalist and academic Selig Harrison, who has followed events in the region for the past 30 years.

The descriptions of the high drama and power struggles in Moscow and Washington are outstanding. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov had to force his own military establishment and communist party—as well as a reluctant Afghan government—to comply with his aim to pull out Soviet forces. Blind addiction to the Cold War among President Ronald Reagan's policymakers made them unwilling to believe that the Soviets were serious about their intentions. Nor could the Americans foresee the catastrophe looming in Moscow.

Cordovez depicts the superpower and regional rivalry over Afghanistan that continues to this day. He had his work cut out for him in 1989: Pakistan was unwilling to adjust to the realities of the approaching post-Cold War era and was determined to install a fundamentalist Islamic government in Kabul; the mujahideen were as fractious and divided as ever, and the United States was keen to extract revenge on the Soviets for their retreat from Vietnam. In that climate, Cordovez's efforts were constantly thwarted.

There are several intriguing revelations. The authors describe how in 1983 the Soviet Union appeared ready to withdraw its troops while Pakistan back-pedalled on earlier commitments to Moscow. During a stroll in a park in Geneva in 1985, Russian diplomats told Cordovez that Gorbachov was determined to pull out of Afghanistan. But when Cordovez conveyed this to Washington and Islamabad, nobody believed him. The regime of for "Pan-Islamism and the strategic realignment of South Asia," sided with CIA chief William Casey, who thought the Soviets were bluffing.

The book contradicts the much quoted assumption of the CIA and Pakistan's Interservices Intelligence that the supply of U.S.-made Stinger missiles to the mujahideen in 1986 forced Gorbachov to withdraw his troops. In fact, the Soviet leadership had indicated its intention to quit one year earlier and the Stingers only extended the war by giving the hawks a reason to stay on, the book says.

Barnett Rubin's moving description in the opening chapter of *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan* sets out the contradictions of the post-Cold War world. "The security of some and the insecurity of others, our modernity and their tradition, are parts of a simultaneous, linked, fragmented world... the fragmenting countries show the integrating ones the dark side of their common present," he writes. He quotes an old Persian poem: "If you do not like the image in the mirror, do not break the mirror, break your face."

Rubin expands his mirror image and explores the tensions of state-building in a tribal society in which ethnic, tribal and clan loyalties—rather than ideology—determine everything, a lesson neither the KGB nor the CIA ever learned. In pages of dazzling statistics—remarkable in that most come from a country that has never had a database—Rubin demonstrates how the mujahideen and the communists mirrored each other in terms of educational background, ethnic affiliation and social background. Islam, he writes, was never a guide to policy or a legitimizing factor for any Afghan ruler, despite what the mujahideen maintain.

All sides preferred to militarize the conflict rather than build alternative political administrations and alliances. Early on, the U.S. and Pakistan made a policy decision to support those mujahideen leaders who killed the most Russians, rather than those who enjoyed popularity or built liberated zones where a civilian administration could take root. A genuine mujahideen leadership was thus never allowed to emerge.

Rubin's treatment of the shifting alliances and deals made during the 1992 mujahideen takeover of Kabul is the most authoritative to date, though he

heavily in favour of Ahmad Shah Masud, the powerful commander who rules Kabul today.

Both books emanate from deep passions, not only for the Afghan people and their tragedy, but for impeccable scholarship and profound concern about the end of an era.

■ Ahmed Rashid

Ahmed is a REVIEW correspondent, based in Islamabad

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW  
1/18/96

This review provoked the following response from Paul Overby:

I was surprised by some of the statements in your review... of OUT OF AFGHANISTAN ... & THE FRAGMENTATION OF AFGHANISTAN ... with which you seem to agree.

That Gorbachev had decided in any final sense to withdraw as early as 1985 is unsupported & unlikely. The fact that some Soviet diplomats averred (in an informal conversation) that policy had shifted to withdrawal does not prove that the decision had been made on the highest level. Nor was it a particularly long delay from 1986/87, when that policy may have jelled, to April 1988, when the Geneva Accords were signed, considering the real difficulties involved. Understandably, the PDPA gov't was unwilling to go along; their fate was clearly to disappear. The mujahideen would not compromise - in part because of their fiercely-interpreted Islam. The Soviets wanted the kind of settlement that would soften the pain of leaving a situation in which they had invested so much. They still believed in a Socialist-modernist solution for Afghanistan - many of whose elements, had they appeared without the Soviet label (and without the bloody fingerprints of Khalq &

Parcham), would have been welcomed in the West (and Japan)... Harrison would make this kind of delay out to be the senseless foot-dragging of prideful & power-addicted superpowers. While not denying that such piggery exists, & did play a role here, I would say that in the real world such large scale decisions take time. What is the point of saying that a compromise could have been reached when none of the parties were ready to reach it?

The Soviet push in the field in 1986 could well have been (among other things) a decision to give the Soviet Army one last chance to implement a military solution. To say that the Stingers gave the Soviet military an excuse to stay on seems like the less obvious possibility. Stingers had a major impact on the course of the war even if the decision to withdraw had been first discussed before their arrival in the fall of 86; it made things much more expensive for the Soviets. While the hardnosed desantniki may have reacted by wanting to dig in and fight harder, the political generals and the decision makers in the politburo would have groaned and prodded the negotiators to work harder and come up with a satisfactory deal. To me the more reasonable way to view this situation is that the introduction of the Stinger confirmed a more or less gradually maturing Soviet decision to withdraw.

Nor do I agree that ethnic, tribal, and clan loyalties determine everything. Ideology, or a belief in larger, ordered political systems, while it may be of less relevance at the clan-village level, has been, in my experience, a real consideration among the educated groups who still function (to the extent that any group still "functions" in Afghanistan) as the decision-makers on a national level. This may not be the sophisticated theorizing of Trotsky, Maududi, or the American Enterprise Institute, but it takes into account at least some of the basic outlines of liberal-democratic, socialist, royalist, or Islamist programs. The time I spent with Mullah Naqeeb, Massoud Khalili, Engineer Es'Haq, the people around Ahmad Zia (Ahmad Shah Massoud's brother) and around Haji Qadir (for instance); the two and a half months I lived in Kunar with the mujahideen of Khan Jan of Hezb' Hekmatyar (1988); and other experiences all lead me to the conclusion that the Islamists, to take the most important ideology-driven group, are at least sufficiently sincere in their beliefs not to be considered mere poseurs or hypocrites. Though I am not a Muslim, much less a "fundamentalist," and I share the kind of humanistic, science-based views that lie behind much of the criticism of the Islamists, neither do I doubt that they are serious--and that they are in fact motivated by Islamic tradition, daily practice, hopes, history and so forth. Though Islam may not have (so far) offered an unambiguous political blueprint, and despite the likelihood that it can never do so, there are nonetheless many people who are quite energetic in pursuit of what they take to be the dictates of Islam. The Islamic revolutionaries in Iran are example enough. We may think communist or fascist goals illusionary, but their proponents have been quite real in history.

And to say that "all sides preferred to militarize the conflict rather than build alternative political administrations [sic]" seems to me to ignore large-scale and very concrete conflicts generated by the very process you mention--the crushing progress of modernization in a stubborn traditionalist society. As for the decision to support the biggest Russian-killers: a) though the US probably had a dearth of good ideas on the subject, I would reckon that it had little opportunity to make dumb decisions since, according to Brig. Yousaf, ISI made the big decisions; and b) if a disproportionate amount of aid went to Hekmatyar it was not going to major fighter. The Khalis, Jamiat, and perhaps Harakat groups were generally said to have more fighters.

According to anecdotal reports from two districts in northern Helmand, there was a notable decrease in poppy planted in 1995 for 1996 harvest. This is believed to be the result of expanding markets for cereals in the regional centers of Gerishk, Lashkar Gah, and Kandahar. The relatively high wheat prices approach the presently depressed net return of opium. More anecdotal evidence attributes a weakened opium market to large stockpiles of opium accumulated over the past year. Unfavorable weather and plant diseases also adversely affected opium cultivation.

**Cultivation and production.** US Government survey figures show a 33 percent increase in opium cultivation from 29,180 hectares to 38,740 and a 32 percent increase in opium production, from 950 to 1250 metric tons in 1995. These figures, however, include production from two new cultivation areas, Helmand South and Helmand West, first identified in 1995. If the areas were in fact producing in prior years, the percentage increase is less, although all areas with the exception of Nangarhar show an increase. UNDCP estimates show a decrease from 71,000 hectares yielding approximately 3,300 mt to 53,000-55,000 hectares having an estimated yield of 2,200 to 2,400 mt of dry opium, about the same level of cultivation as Burma. USG sources do not support the methodology used in UNDCP estimates. The major opium poppy regions of Afghanistan are Nangarhar and Helmand, which account for nearly 85 percent of Afghanistan's yield. Badakhshan in the northeast registered an important increase in opium production from 22 to 61 tons, perhaps the result of local demand combined with the attraction of high prices from markets in Tajikistan and neighboring countries of Central Asia.



# Taleban will find it tough to

*Reporter Tom Carter spoke with several experts on Afghanistan about recent developments in the war there and what they mean for the United States. Richard Mackenzie is a Washington-based television producer who has made some 20 trips inside Afghanistan.*

**Question:** What is your view of the Taleban militia that has taken over Jalalabad?

**Answer:** If you look at the areas they control and their methods of control, it is impossible to call them good guys. They want to take Afghanistan back to the 14th century. In Kandahar, hanging, as if lynched, on a telephone pole are televisions and cassettes. Women are closeted in the home. They are amputating the hands and feet [of criminals], which is an Arabic and not an Afghan practice.

**Q:** After two years of war with Kabul and refusing to be a part of President Burhanuddin Rabbani's government, why did Gulbuddin Hekmatyar accept the prime ministership?

**A:** He is prime minister because he's been depleted as a force in Afghanistan. He is not the same Hekmatyar that bombed and leveled Kabul. He's a Pushtun, and Rabbani brought him in for ethnic unity. Rabbani also thought he controlled the road [from Jalalabad] to Pakistan, but that's not true anymore.

**Q:** What next?

**A:** The Taleban are not some great fighting force filled with skilled and seasoned fighters. They couldn't take Kabul before, I don't think they can take Kabul now. What terrorizes me is how Afghanistan has been fractured and fragmented and Afghanistan as a nation no longer exists.

**Q:** What are the U.S. interests in Afghanistan?

**A:** Morally, we spent billions in weapons and materiel during the Soviet occupation, with the alleged goal of giving the Afghan people freedom. Once the Soviet Union collapsed, there is the morality of helping bring about peace and stability and rebuilding this devastated country our weapons helped to destroy.

*William Clark is the former U.S. ambassador to India and a South Asia expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

**Q:** The Taleban militia has taken over Jalalabad and is marching toward the Pakistani border. Is this the endgame in the Afghan war?

**A:** I doubt it very much. The Afghan civil war is so multifaceted that even if the Taleban had the upper hand in most of the areas, you'd still have Gulbuddin Hekmatyar with his troops; you have the Uzbeks. I don't think the Taleban is that cohesive.

**Q:** The Taleban controls the road from Herat to Iran and now

the road from Jalalabad to Pakistan, so two primary supply routes are cut off.

**A:** It's a difficult situation, but I think it works well for Pakistan this way.

**Q:** Both the Taleban and Mr. Hekmatyar are pretty hard-line, fundamentalist Islamists...

**A:** Yes, and it will put more pressure on the government in Pakistan and on [Pakistani Prime Minister] Benazir Bhutto to move further in that direction because that's been a leitmotif in Pakistan for a long time.

**Q:** Should the United States get involved?

**A:** Probably our influence is somewhat diminished. I don't think we can get into this one at this point, but I'm sure that those charged with making policy in Washington are going to be concerned about the fundamentalist policy of the Taleban and what that might mean.

Now it is sort of the great game without Russia and Great Britain. It's a complex game, where we don't have many chips. We're not going to go in and try to sort it out for them.

*David Isby, an Afghanistan consultant who writes for Jane's Defense Weekly, has been following the conflict in Afghanistan for 16 years.*

**Q:** What chance does the Taleban have of taking over and establishing its version of an Islamic government?

**A:** They've taken over part of the country. Their chances of taking over the rest of the country are somewhat limited. They have an appeal where they are [in the south], but as they push north, you start getting people who are ethnically different and don't speak the same language as the Taleban.

**Q:** So you think we're not in the endgame?

**A:** It's a move, and there probably will be a countermove. The chess game here is probably being played by the Pakistanis. Jalalabad is very much economically integrated with Pakistan, and the Taleban is, to an extent, supported by Pakistan.

**Q:** What next?

**A:** I suspect the [Kabul] government will at least try to reopen the road [from Jalalabad]. This is in the Taleban's interest, too, because if the Taleban shuts the road down completely, they're going to get no money off the trade between Pakistan and Kabul.

take rest of country



7/18 - ANS - A Unocal representative said the company is ready to start construction on an 870-mile-long gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan. A 1000-mile-long oil pipeline is also planned. The only obstacle to the project, Unocal says, is the ongoing war & the lack of a single central authority in Afghanistan.  
- The Nation (Pakistan):

A young boy and a lady were stoned to death under raping charges which was probably the first punishment in this type in Kandhar, a province of Afghanistan being ruled by Taliban, BBC reported.

The punishment was given by an Islamic court under Islamic laws some days back, the report said.

Reports from Kandhar city say that the implementation on this pun-

ishment was carried out near the main mosque of the city and some six to seven thousand people watched the scene, the report added.

It may be mentioned that the both were arrested under the charges for having illicit sexual relations and declared guilty of Zina by the court, the report stated.

7/21 - Washington Post Com Site - An Amnesty Int'l research team called Afghanistan a "human rights catastrophe" after its first look inside the country since 1982.

7/23 - Frontier Post (Peshawar) - A wave of forged currency is flooding Kabul's money market (see pp. 15-16).

7/28 - The News (Pakistan) - Refugees from a UN camp in Jalalabad have fled back to Kabul because of tribal warfare in the area (see pp. 17-20).

- Frontier Post - UN Special Envoy Holl began his first mission into Afghanistan Saturday. ANS reported that Holl said he had consulted with US & Russian officials in Washington & Moscow before coming out to Afghanistan.

7/29 - ANS - Hekmatyar on Friday appealed to Taleban: "If you want the post of Prime Minister or President, then you can raise this matter at the conference table." Taleban launched a rocket attack on Kabul on Saturday.

7/30 - ANS - UN Envoy Holl visited Jalalabad to open the UN Special Mission's office there. He will also go to Kabul, Mazar & Kandahar.

- An Afghan delegation, led by Interior Minister Yunus Qanuni & Finance Minister Arghandawal, will go to Pakistan to discuss the reopening of the Pakistani

Embassy in Kabul, the exports of Afghan fruit to Pakistan & Pakistani gas to Afghanistan. (See 8/11)

8/6 - ANS - A quote from UN Special Envoy Holl: "I am in Afghanistan for a peace mission & people have to respect that & if people...continue shooting at each other when I am in town it just shows to my mind that they do not care for the peace mission."

8/7 - ANS - Sen. Hank Brown (R-Colo) arrived in Pakistan on his 2nd visit. He will go into Afghanistan to meet with Taleban, Dostum & Rabbani. Brown is seeking to end arms shipments to Afghanistan & a greater US role in mine clearance. He also would like to see a US consulate in Afghanistan.

8/11 - Frontier Post - Pakistan is considering reopening its Kabul Embassy (see p. 24).

8/18 - Washington Post - The 7-man Russian crew held by Taleban in Kandahar for the past year escaped to Dubai (see article on p.25).

8/27 - Reuters - At Bagram, Masood briefed US Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R. Calif) on the Rabbani peace plan. However, a Hekmatyar spokesman expressed concern over signs of a renewed US interest in Afghanistan: "America wants to block the establishment of a strong Islamic Gov't in Afghanistan... A great game has been started in Afghanistan as America feels that Tehran & Moscow have got stronger in the Afghan picture - something Washington wants to change."

9/12 - NYT - Taliban captured Jalalabad. At least 70 people were reported killed in the attack. (See p. 16)

9/14 - NYT - Laghman Province fell to the Taliban which also claimed it had Kunar.

Officials in Kabul, the Afghan capital, said Taleban had taken Laghman after Government troops pulled back to set up defensive belts in a main plateau overlooking the strategic town of Sarobi, 40 miles east of Kabul.

Two jets bombed Sarobi in an apparent attempt to hit military targets, which they missed, the officials said. A spokesman for President Burhanuddin Rabbani's top military commander, Ahmad Shah Masood, accused Pakistan of sending in the jets.

# Taleban controls more than half of Afghanistan

By Raja Asghar  
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — The latest rebel victories in Afghanistan have further isolated President Burhanuddin Rabbani's government in Kabul, cutting key land routes to neighboring countries, analysts say.

The powerful Taleban Islamic militia on Wednesday seized control of most of the strategic eastern province of Nangarhar, including the provincial capital of Jalalabad and the main land route to neighboring Pakistan.

Afghan and military analysts said that more trouble lies ahead for the Kabul government, mainly from the Taleban, which now controls more than half of the war-shattered country.

Taleban forces already have 16 of the 32 Afghan provinces under their control, including those providing road links with Pakistan in the south and with Iran in the west.

Taleban sources in neighboring Pakistan said yesterday that their forces took the provincial capitals of Mehtar Lam in Laghman and Asadabad in Kunar without a fight after overnight advances from adjoining Nangarhar province, which they seized two days ago.

"All people were waiting for Taleban to arrive," a Taleban source in the northwestern Pakistani town of Peshawar said by telephone. "Both provinces are now under Taleban control."

The sources also said the militia forces took a government post and Irbghar Mountain in their advance to the strategic town of Sarobi east of Kabul. The rebels were only about 18 miles from Sarobi late yesterday, they said.

Wednesday's capture of Jalalabad made the Taleban master of the main eastern road link with Pakistan.

Northern provinces with roads to the neighboring Central Asian states are controlled by another foe of Mr. Rabbani, Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum.

"Now the Kabul government is at the mercy of its opponents as far as the supplies from the land routes are concerned," an Afghan analyst said.

Gen. Dostum opened the northern Salang Highway to Kabul last month after peace talks with his former ally Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

But Afghan sources in Pakistan said Gen. Dostum had left open his options by not making a formal peace deal with Kabul and could close the route again any time to press his old demand that Mr. Rabbani step down in favor of a neutral administration.

While Gen. Dostum has not created many military problems for Mr. Rabbani in recent months, analysts said the Taleban forces are likely to strike at two more pro-government eastern provinces, Kunar and Laghman.

Kunar, which borders Pakistan, is ruled by a fundamentalist Islamic group called Salfis. Its leader, Maulvi Samiullah Najabi, was named a Cabinet minister when Mr. Hekmatyar took over as prime minister in June after the peace pact with Mr. Rabbani.

Laghman, which is between Kunar and Kabul provinces, is controlled by Mr. Hekmatyar's own Hezb-e-Islami party.

The latest government reverses have put a strain on the new friendship between Mr. Rabbani and Mr. Hekmatyar, Afghan sources said.

Mr. Hekmatyar had promised to strengthen the government in return for regaining the premiership, which he lost when he and Gen. Dostum united in January 1994 in an abortive coup against Mr. Rabbani. They instead were ousted from Kabul.

But since June, the Taleban has seized more Hezb-controlled and neutral territories and has rained

rockets on Kabul almost daily, having besieged the capital since October.

"Hekmatyar's importance for Rabbani has decreased with the fall of Jalalabad," an analyst said. "The economic situation will further worsen, and differences between Hekmatyar and Ahmad

Shah Masood will intensify." Gen. Masood is Mr. Rabbani's top commander.

The fall of Jalalabad has ended the only neutral council, or shura, that ruled there and which sometimes provided a balance between the rivals.

With its troubles at home increasing, Kabul has renewed its charges that Pakistan has aided the Taleban, something that could reverse the recent warming of their once frosty relations.

An Afghan government spokesman has accused Pakistan of "hatching the conspiracy for Taleban puppets to wage war in Jalalabad."

Pakistan rejected the charge and said it has been trying to promote intra-Afghan talks to help bring peace there.

The allegations have also clouded a planned visit to Kabul next week by Pakistan's top Foreign Ministry official, Najmuddin Sheikh, to reopen Islamabad's embassy there.

9/16 - NYT - Gov't jets bombed Jalalabad to slow the Taliban advance. Thousands fled toward the Pakistan border.





# Afghans seek help to end long war

## Militia rivals make their case before Congress

By Fauzia Ahmed  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States should work with the United Nations toward building a peace process that will end the more than 20 years of war that has devastated Afghanistan, say Afghan government and rebel group leaders.

In Washington this week to testify before Congress, more than two dozen representatives of the various Afghan militias said that Washington must get involved if there is to be a lasting peace in the war-torn nation.

The hearings, organized by Sen. Hank Brown, Colorado Republican, marked the first time the groups had met since 1992, when they signed a peace accord in Pakistan that proved to be short-lived.

There is more hope this time. "We are tired of war and now we have come to a stage where we want to sit and talk with other parties and negotiate peace among us," said Abdul Rahim Ghafoor, deputy foreign minister of the current government in Afghanistan.

"Peace has to come from within us, but the United States can help facilitate the negotiations by putting pressure on foreign governments to end their influence in Afghanistan's internal affairs," he said.

Afghanistan has been at the center of geopolitical intrigue and military turmoil for centuries. The latest chapter began in 1973, when a military coup toppled the monarchy. In 1978, a Soviet-backed coup led to a bloody 10-year occupation and war, costing by some estimates 1.5 million Afghan lives. Afghan mujahideen (guerrillas), with U.S. support, finally ousted the Soviets in 1988.

The various mujahideen groups promptly began fighting among themselves, and the civil war has continued until today.

The Taliban rebels, a band of former religious students who control much of western Afghanistan, want to install a strict Islamic government in Kabul. They have been on the outskirts of Kabul since September.

They demand the immediate resignation of President Burhanuddin Rabbani. On Wednesday Taliban fired an estimated 300 rockets into Kabul to protest the new alliance between Mr. Rabbani and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a former staunch government enemy. Mr. Hekmatyar was sworn in as

prime minister Wednesday.

Gen. Rashid Dostum leads a powerful Uzbek mujahideen group that has changed alliances several times over the years. In January 1994, an abortive coup led by Mr. Hekmatyar and Gen. Dostum wreaked havoc on Kabul. In this most recent lineup, Mr. Hekmatyar broke with Gen. Dostum to realign with Mr. Rabbani.

In April, Mr. Brown, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on South Asian affairs, visited Afghanistan. During his trip, he decided to invite the Afghan leaders to the United States to meet and begin the process of helping move the country toward peace.

"I don't think the United States is going to play a mediating role. But we can play a role in getting the countries that surround the

Afghanistan to reduce or eliminate their interferences, which all parties have indicated would help in bringing about peace," Mr. Brown said at the Senate hearing Wednesday.

Said Mansour Naderi, heading the delegation for Gen. Dostum, said his faction is willing to compromise to find a solution with other parties. He said Gen. Dostum wants the United States to play a constructive role with the United Nations to help establish an interim government with the support of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, where Afghan people are fairly represented.

Sultan Mahmud Ghazi, representing Mohammad Zaher Shah, the former king who was deposed in 1973, said the situation is desperate.

"For the sake of saving Afghan-

istan and its people from total disaster, and for the sake of the peace of our region and of the world, [we have to] put our differences aside and find viable solutions to the catalog of gigantic problems which face our troubled country," he said.

Omar Samad, executive director of the Afghanistan Information Center, warned that the various groups in Afghanistan are already building political networks in anticipation of searching for a solution to the Afghan problem with talks rather than guns.

"There are lobbies being formed, even in the United States, to promote the fortunes of one group over others and make a claim for illusory political legitimacy," he said. "The underlying objectives of these lobbies are tied to economic interests."

Washington Times 6/29

## Senator sees opportunity for peace

Sen. Hank Brown, Colorado Republican and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, made a trip to Afghanistan in April. While there, he invited the leaders of the various Afghan factions to Washington to discuss war and peace in the region. They accepted the invitation and were in Washington this week to testify before Congress. Reporter Fauzia Ahmed of The Washington Times spoke with Mr. Brown at the hearings.

**Question:** What do you think of the situation in Afghanistan after your recent visit there?

**Answer:** My sense is that the parties are willing to sit down and work out a solution. The situation is very different from Bosnia because they are all from the same religion. There is growing awareness to bring peace to Afghanistan.

**Q:** Why are you interested in Afghanistan?

**A:** I thought it might be helpful to get the different factions to talk to each other, and I thought it might be helpful in informing the Congress about the problem. I am chairman of the subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian affairs; that includes that area, that's my interest in it. Over and above that, I think there is great closeness between America and Afghanistan. They are a country that played a key role in ending the tyranny of the Soviet Union.

**Q:** Some 30 Afghan leaders and their representatives have been testifying on the Hill all

# Q&A



Sen. Hank Brown

week. What do you hope to come out of these hearings? What can the United States do to help end the civil war?

**A:** I think we can play an important role and encourage the peace process. I don't think the United States is going to play a mediating role. I think that function is going to be done by the United Nations ambassador. But I do think that there are some things we can do.

We can play a role in getting the countries that surround Afghanistan to reduce or eliminate their interference, which all the parties indicate would help in bringing about peace. Our hope is that all the different factions can come together. But at this point I think that is the function of the United Nations, [which] with our help is handling.

**Q:** Why do you think the United States should get involved in Afghanistan?

**A:** The United States has great affection for the Afghan people. We remember that they played a key role in bringing an end to the Soviet Union.

**Q:** What strategic importance does Afghanistan have for the United States, and will U.S. involvement there cost the American taxpayer?

**A:** I don't think there is so much strategic importance for the United States. In terms of funds, no one is talking about large expenditures for Afghanistan. But I do think we can be helpful in encouraging the peace process, that is ultimately our goal. We do send some assistance to Afghanistan through [the] United Nations primarily. I am going to be encouraging support for the project that involves demining and eliminating some 30 million mines that are still in Afghanistan.

**Q:** Do you think it's possible to bring the different factions together?

**A:** I don't know. I don't want to prejudge it. I think it's possible, but I don't know if it's going to happen.

Washington Times

6/29

# Afghani Factions Say They Want Peace

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Remote, mountainous Afghanistan, a crucible of the Cold War less than a decade ago, has long since disappeared from most computer screens in Washington now that the United States is no longer much interested in it.

But there was news from the war-torn nation last week.

In Kabul, the capital, President Burhanuddin Rabbani defied a furious rocket blitz from the Taliban militia group besieging the city to swear in its ally-turned-rival-turned-ally Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as prime minister.

But Rabbani and forces allied with him control only about one-third of the Texas-size central Asian country. The more important event may have been the one that unfolded here in the unlikely venue of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

There, in a crowded conference room, representatives of almost every faction, tribe and party in the fractured Afghanistan political landscape gathered to talk about how to end the internecine conflict destroying their country.

They came at their own expense, in response to an invitation from Sen. Hank Brown (R-Colo.), who went to Afghanistan earlier this year. The gathering was "not a peace conference," Brown said. "The purpose is to seek advice" about how to rebuild U.S. interest in Afghanistan and "help the Afghans develop their own peace initiative."

Brown heard plenty, not much of it encouraging. Everyone who spoke said his group was for peace, and blamed someone else for prolonging the country's seemingly endless conflict. Some speakers blamed Rabbani; some blamed Pakistan; some blamed Iran; some blamed the United States, saying that when U.S.-backed rebels succeeded in driving Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, Washington lost interest.

Brown pronounced himself encouraged nonetheless.

"They all expressed an interest in peace," he said. "If weariness of war is a factor, we are close to a time when this could be settled. And the part that's also encouraging is that the surrounding powers are at the point where they are interested in stopping outside interference in Afghanistan—although I haven't talked to Iran."

Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.), one of the few members of Congress who share Brown's concern with Afghanistan, said he also found grounds for optimism. "You have people meet-

ing in one town who have the ability to bring an end to the chaos," he said. "Just getting them in the same room is a major accomplishment."

But the two GOP lawmakers have different ideas about what should happen next. Brown favors a national peace assembly of all Afghan tribes and factions under United Nations auspices. Rohrabacher said "I don't want to leave this to the U.N.," which he said was responsible for a "catastrophe" in the Balkans. He called for the United States to assert leadership in the quest for an Afghan solution, using the lure of reconstruction funds he said are available from Saudi Arabia and Brunei.

The Clinton administration did not participate in Brown's conference and has no independent peace plan for Afghanistan. Robin Raphael, assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs, told Brown's Senate Foreign Relations Asia subcommittee in early June that U.S. policy presumes a lead role for the United Nations in developing "a peace process that would enable a functioning central government to emerge, order to be restored and reconstruction to begin."

Raphael said Washington is "concerned, however, that the factional leaders are not putting the interests of the country or their fellow countrymen above their self-interest. They are often inflexible and seemingly immune to pressure. These leaders must be made to understand that the Afghan people do not want a continuous state of war in their country."

Judging from their comments at Brown's forum, the Afghan factions do understand that; what they do not understand is how to achieve a settlement that would protect their ethnic, linguistic, religious and military interests against the claims of their rivals. That is why Pentagon intelligence analyst John Moore predicted recently that "the only result [of the latest fighting] will be more suffering. The strategic stalemate is likely to continue."

That is also why the Afghans "are pleading for the United States to become involved," Rohrabacher said.

Afghanistan, a country of approximately 24 million people including nomads and refugees living in Pakistan and Iran, has been in a nearly continuous armed conflict since Soviet troops entered the country in 1979 to protect a friendly left-wing government against a conservative Islamic insurgency.

The insurgents prevailed, backed by the United States and Pakistan in a war that drained the Soviet Union of troops, money and morale. Early in

this decade they took Kabul, ousting the pro-Moscow government left in place by the departing Soviets. But then they fell out among themselves, setting off factional fighting that has left much of the country in ruins, its fields and roads strewn with millions of land mines and its people destitute.

According to Raphael, "Seventeen years of fighting have all but destroyed Afghanistan—its economy, its infrastructure, its institutions and its social systems."

The names of those who spoke at Brown's conference would mean little to most Americans. The Rabbani government in Kabul was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai, who appealed to other Afghans, "For God's sake, take your fingers off the trigger." Whatever the differences among them, he said to other Afghans, "You and I were the heroes of the 1980s. Today they call us terrorists and drug traffickers."

He called for U.S. leadership in a "phased political process" that would lead to peace, but said it must be preceded by "the immediate cessation of foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs."

This was an allusion to Pakistan, which is widely reported to be supporting the mysterious Taliban, a militia group of ultraconservative Muslim students from the Pashto-speaking south that sprang up in late 1994 and now controls about half the country.

Maleefia Lodhi, Pakistan's ambassador here, denied that her country supports the Taliban, noting that Pakistan maintains "normal diplomatic relations" with the Rabbani government and has "the most to lose" from the "Balkanization" of Afghanistan.

The Taliban did not participate in the conference, but submitted a statement saying their movement "does not entertain any ambition for political power." The statement said their objective is to get rid of the "illegitimate" Rabbani government and replace it with a representative, freely chosen regime based on "Islamic principles."

The most compelling reason for renewed U.S. efforts to resolve the conflict may have been offered by Marty F. Miller, vice president of Unocal Corp. He said his firm plans to build two mammoth pipelines across Afghanistan to carry oil and gas from Turkmenistan to Pakistan, but all potential sources of financing "have consistently advised us that there will have to be a single entity governing Afghanistan that has international recognition" before they will put up any money.

# Saudi Exile Warns More Attacks Are Planned

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

LONDON, July 10 — A Muslim Saudi dissident has warned that the terrorists who carried out bombing attacks against American soldiers in Saudi Arabia will also strike at British and French military personnel, adding that those responsible for the bombings in Riyadh and Dhahran that killed 26 "have a deep understanding in choosing their targets."

Speaking in an interview that was held in Afghanistan with The Independent, a British daily, Osama Bin Laden, a scion of a wealthy trading family who was stripped of his Saudi citizenship by King Fahd, said the bombers "hit their main enemy, which is the Americans."

"They killed no secondary enemies, nor their brothers in the army

or the police of Saudi Arabia," he said. He repeatedly hinted that such attacks will recur.

Speaking of last month's bombing, which killed 19 Americans and wounded more than 300 others, including Saudis and Bangladeshis, Mr. Bin Laden said it was the "result of American behavior against Muslims, its support of Jews in Palestine, and the massacre of Muslims in Palestine and Lebanon."

While taking no responsibility for the attacks, Mr. Bin Laden indicated he was familiar with the circumstances and motives of the plotters.

Saudi officials, who have yet to disclose any of their findings in the investigation of the bombings, said they were not prepared to link Mr. Bin Laden to the attacks yet. But one official said that such an eventuality "cannot be eliminated" in view of Mr. Bin Laden's long association with Arab Islamic militant fighters trained in Afghanistan.

On Tuesday, Defense Secretary William J. Perry said that an "experienced and well-financed terrorist organization" appeared to have given support to the Saudi bombers.

A Saudi official said that Mr. Bin Laden, whose personal fortune is estimated to exceed \$100 million, has provided the bulk of the financing for a vast campaign to distribute pamphlets and cassette tapes inveighing against the Saudi Government over the past five years.

Until a few weeks ago, Mr. Bin Laden had lived in the Sudan, where he arrived more than five years ago after fleeing Saudi Arabia. In the interview he confirmed that he left that country a few weeks ago for Afghanistan following pressure by Saudi Arabia, the United States and Egypt on the Sudan to expel him.

In doing so, he seems to have joined an increasing number of radical Arab Islamists with access to training bases and hiding places in areas controlled by the Taliban, an Afghan Muslim militia group.

"The safest place in the world for me is Afghanistan," Mr. Bin Laden asserted in the interview, adding that he had spent much time there fighting Soviet troops in the 1980's.

WASHINGTON TIMES

6/27

## US Policy on Afghanistan (Or Lack Thereof)

For its own sake, US should resume a leadership role

By Dan O'Brien June 26, 1996

the factions.

FOR those of us working on the ground in Afghanistan, it's not clear the United States has a policy here. The US is mysteriously absent from efforts to negotiate peace, alleviate suffering, and rebuild the country, into which, from 1979 to 1992, we poured \$3 billion into defeating the Soviets and a Soviet-backed regime in Kabul.

In collaboration with neighboring Pakistan, the US eagerly distributed arms to various factions of the *mujahideen*, forcing the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989 in this final confrontation of the cold war.

Because of war and the mismanagement of resources, the United Nations ranks Afghanistan as the fifth-poorest country in the world. Now the US has largely turned its back on the Afghan people. Doesn't it have a moral obligation to press for peace and assist in rebuilding Afghanistan? We at CARE believe so, though it has not been done in more than a perfunctory way.

The US absence is ironic given its rhetoric at home — the war on drugs, the fight against terrorism, and support for the new states of Central Asia. These issues are directly affected by a lack of policy in Afghanistan.

Take drugs, for example. Lacking alternative sources of income, farmers in certain parts of the country have turned to poppy cultivation. Poppy production has increased tenfold since the Soviet invasion. Opium and its byproducts are believed to have become the country's main export commodity. Even though poppy cultivation violates Islamic law and ethics, many communities feel their only other alternative is poverty.

This drug highway is also an arms highway, creating problems in neighboring Pakistan, Kashmir, and elsewhere. Many are also concerned that Afghanistan is being used by others as a training ground for terrorism. An unstable Afghanistan will impede the development of the ex-Soviet Central Asian republics. Afghanistan has the potential to be a bridge between these countries and the rest of the world, promoting jobs, regional growth, and stability.

Instead of policy so glaringly contradictory to the values and political goals of the US, CARE proposes a policy of American leadership and reengagement in Afghanistan that includes the following:

- Take a more visible and stronger leadership role in helping to broker a peace settlement in Afghanistan. Peace and a stable Afghanistan is without doubt in our national interest.

- The US is in a relatively strong position to influence the foreign countries fueling the conflict, especially Pakistan, Russia, India, and Saudi Arabia. In doing so, the US should avoid the perception of taking sides in the conflict, be it for the exiled king or against one or more of

- Reinvest aid directly to Afghanistan. The withdrawal of US bilateral assistance to Afghanistan in 1993 was based more on the fact that the US Agency for International Development's Afghanistan and Pakistan programs were administratively combined than on the needs and problems of Afghanistan. When the Pressler Amendment forced USAID to close its operations in Pakistan, the Afghanistan program followed as a matter of course. Since 1993, the US has provided assistance to Afghanistan through United Nations organizations such as the World Food Program, UNICEF, and the United Nations Development Program. Unfortunately, American identity has been lost. Most Afghans believe we are doing nothing.

- Invest that aid in stable parts of the country. USAID and other bilateral donors have said withholding aid will act as an incentive for the various factions to reach a settlement. CARE believes that withholding aid will only perpetuate poverty, ignorance, and war. Lacking alternatives, more and more youths will take up arms, and more and more farmers will cultivate poppy. Aid should be strategically targeted to those provinces that are stable and where economic development has begun. Such investments will pay social and economic dividends not just in the lives of immediate beneficiaries, but also in rebuilding the foundations of Afghanistan's civil society.

- Invest in health, education, income, and the removal of land mines. Initially, aid should focus on improving the health of women and children, educating youth, and increasing household income through increased agricultural production and strengthening access to markets. Agricultural production and access to markets is stymied by some 10 million land mines — 40 per square mile. The US should make the removal of land mines one of its first priorities.

- Work through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Currently, the best vehicle for providing aid to Afghanistan is through international and Afghan NGOs that are working to rebuild Afghan civil society from the ground up. These NGOs have existing agreements with governments to work in their provinces. The US should take advantage of this, developing strategic partnerships with a core group of NGOs to implement a program of reconstruction and development in those provinces that are stable.

- CARE is committed to helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country. We encourage the US to reestablish its leadership position and play a constructive role in the peace and reconstruction process. Helping to build a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is in Americans' interest, is within our power to accomplish, and is our moral duty.

■ Dan O'Brien is CARE's Asia Regional director.

### Pakistan's 'nightmare'

The West is to blame for the chaos in Afghanistan, which could collapse completely, creating a "nightmare" for neighboring Pakistan, the Pakistani ambassador said this week.

Ambassador Mälécha Lodhi told a congressional panel her country's "only aim is to ensure peace in Afghanistan" and dismissed widespread reports that Islamabad is sponsoring the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban faction in Afghanistan's continuing fighting.

"Those who accuse us of providing the Taliban ready access to our territory conveniently overlook that such access is available to all Afghans regardless of party affiliation," she told the Near East and South Asia subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Pakistan, let me state emphatically, does not provide arms or ammunition to any faction."

Miss Lodhi said the power struggle in Afghanistan is compounded by economic decline, which Western nations have failed to address.

"The international community, especially the advanced countries, must bear responsibility" she said. "After liberation [from Soviet occupation], Afghanistan has been practically abandoned by the world."

"Economic assistance has been made conditional on the realization of peace, but peace is more difficult to realize so long as there is no reconstruction and no return to normal economic activity."

She also said Afghans can expect no help until they "set aside their differences and bring peace to their long-troubled land."

# Rabbani and Hekmetyar Announce Formation of New Alliance

On May 24, Afghan President and leader of the Jamaat-i-Islami, Burhanuddin Rabbani, and the leader of the Hezb al-Islami, Gulbuddin Hekmetyar, announced the formation of an alliance thus ending a bitter rivalry between the two Islamist groups which broke into fighting four years ago.

The alliance between the two major Islamist groups in the country has boosted the government's political position tremendously and has added to the legitimacy of the Rabbani regime.

However, foes of the Islamist government remain strong militarily. The Rabbani-Hekmetyar alliance face their greatest military challenge from the Taleban, a relatively new militia which has allegedly received massive military and economic aid from Pakistan. The militia currently controls more than half of Afghanistan and has maintained a siege on the Afghan capital of Kabul since October. Fighting between government troops and those of the militia intensified in May with heavy casualties being reported in Ghur and Herat provinces in the West of the country as well as in Logar province south of the capital.

The Taleban has also continued its almost daily rocket assaults on Kabul which each month kill dozens of civilians.

Before moving against Rabbani's government, the Taleban, in February 1995, had pushed Hekmetyar's forces out of their headquarters south of Kabul greatly weakening that movement. A spokesman for Hekmetyar's Hezb al-Islami acknowledged that the party had subsequently tried to reach an accommodation with the militia, which like the Hezb is predominantly made up of ethnic Pushtuns as opposed to the Tajik-dominated government. However talks between the Taleban and Hekmetyar collapsed.

"The Taleban were not realistic," said Hezb spokesman, Ghairat Baheer. "Their approach is so backward - to politics, society, and even Islam - that it was very hard for us to

agree with them."

The other major military force in the country, the Uzbek militia of Abdul Rashid Dostum, is opposed to the Rabbani government but has remained neutral in the latest fighting between the government and the Taleban. While Dostum has threatened to form an alliance with the Taleban on a number of occasions, his Russian and Uzbek supporters have pressured him to remain neutral as they fear that a Taleban victory would increase Pakistani and American influence in the region.

## Other Afghan Factions

For the past two years, Hekmetyar and Dostum have been allied in the Supreme Coordination Council (SCC), a grouping of four Afghan factions which had been opposed to the Rabbani government. The grouping included Dostum's militia, but not the Taleban. Spokesmen for Hekmetyar's Hezb al-Islami said that their party was trying to convince the other members of the SCC to join the government as well.

"We are trying to convince the other members of the SCC to join the government," said Baheer. "We hope that our cooperation with the government will pave the way for peace in Afghanistan."

On June 2, Rabbani launched a fresh effort to reopen peace talks with all Afghan factions and said that he and Hekmetyar would send delegations to meet with other factional leaders.

The Taleban, however, quickly rejected the offer and reported that it was meeting with four other factions in an attempt to offset the Rabbani-Hekmetyar alliance. The factions which met with the Taleban include the Mahaz-i-Milli of Sayed Ahmad Gailani, the Jabha Nijat-i-Milli of Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, the Harakat Inqilab-i-Islami of Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, and the Hezb-i-Islami (Khalis group) of Maulvi Younis Khalis. No results of those talks have yet been announced.

The Shi'ite Hezb al-Wahdat, which had previously been allied to Hekmetyar in the SCC, is expected to follow Hekmetyar's lead in joining the government.

The alliance between Rabbani and Hekmetyar was concluded after months of protracted negotiations under the sponsorship of a committee led by Professor Abd Rab al-Rasul Sayyaf, the leader of the third largest Islamist party in the country. The committee led by Sayyaf mediated between Rabbani and Hekmetyar throughout the winter in discussions concerning how to end the problems created by the continued fighting in the country.

"The relations between the government and the Hezb al-Islami have improved greatly," Sayyaf said after the alliance was announced. "Both sides agreed that they will not return to fighting each other and that they will solve their problems through dialogue and understanding. They will work jointly to solve the Afghanistan problem with the final goal being the participation of both groups in a single government."

Sayyaf said that his committee had also tried to undertake negotiations with the Taleban. He, however, asserted that such negotiations could not succeed because "the Taleban do not have control over the making of their own decisions but rather adhere to the dictates of others." As for Dostum, Sayyaf described him as "an orphan whose communist father has died." Sayyaf refused to negotiate with Dostum and said that in recent years, the United States has forged strong ties to the militia leader. According to Sayyaf, the West is preparing to use Dostum to create problems in Afghanistan in the future.

## Pakistan

Coinciding with the dramatic new alliance in Afghanistan is somewhat of a thaw in the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan, whose support for the Taleban has isolated it in the region. The first visit to Pakistan by an official Afghan delegation in months occurred in May when a delegation led by

Afghan Minister of Transport Abdul Ghaffar held talks with Pakistan's Foreign Minister Asef Ahmed Ali

in Islamabad. These were the first contacts between the two countries since the September 1995 sacking of the Pakistani embassy in Kabul which resulted in the death of one employee and 27 injuries.

Reversing an earlier stance, Pakistani spokesmen in May began saying that they recognize the Rabbani regime as Afghan's de facto government. During the discussions in Islamabad, the two sides discussed the opening of trade routes with the Central Asian states of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, as well as the construction of gas and oil pipelines and railways connecting the Central Asian states with Pakistan via Afghanistan. Last year, Pakistan signed a deal with the American company, Unocal, to build pipelines across Taleban-controlled areas of Afghanistan without having consulted or attained the agreement of Afghan officials.

Despite the relative thaw in relations, tensions between the two countries remain intense. On June 1, the Afghan government charged that witnesses had identified Pakistani militiamen fighting alongside the Taleban in the siege of Kabul and called upon Pakistani authorities to stop interfering in its affairs.

"Last Sunday's casualties and today's attacks by Taleban were an indication of Pakistani backing for the militia," said an Afghan government radio broadcast on Saturday, June 1.



Burhanuddin Rabbani.

June 7, 1996

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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19 Fanning Avenue  
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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

ACBAR - Agency Coordinating Bureau for Afghan Relief  
AIG - Afghan Interim Government  
BIA - Bakhtar Information Agency  
CC - Central Committee  
CSM - Christian Science Monitor  
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan  
FBIS - Foreign Broadcasting Information Service  
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany  
ICRC - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross  
KT - Kabul Times  
LAT - Los Angeles Times  
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization  
NWFP - Northwest Frontier Province  
NYT - New York Times  
OIC - Organization of Islamic Conference  
PCV - Peace Corps Volunteer  
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan  
PT - Pakistan Times  
PVO - Private Voluntary Organization  
RC - Revolutionary Council  
ROA - Republic of Afghanistan  
SCMP - South China Morning Post  
UNGA - United Nations General Assembly  
UNOCA - United Nations Office of the Commissioner  
for Afghanistan [sometimes UNOCHA]  
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees  
WSJ - Wall Street Journal

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Mary Ann Siegfried  
Editor & typist

Leonard Oppenheim  
Treasurer &  
proofreader

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